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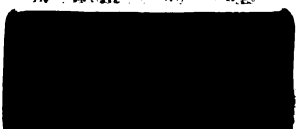
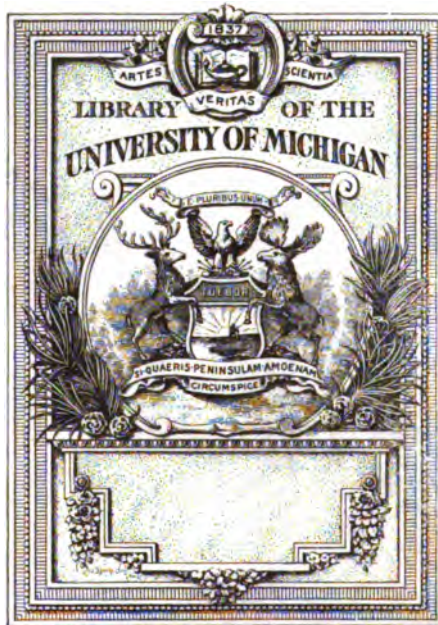
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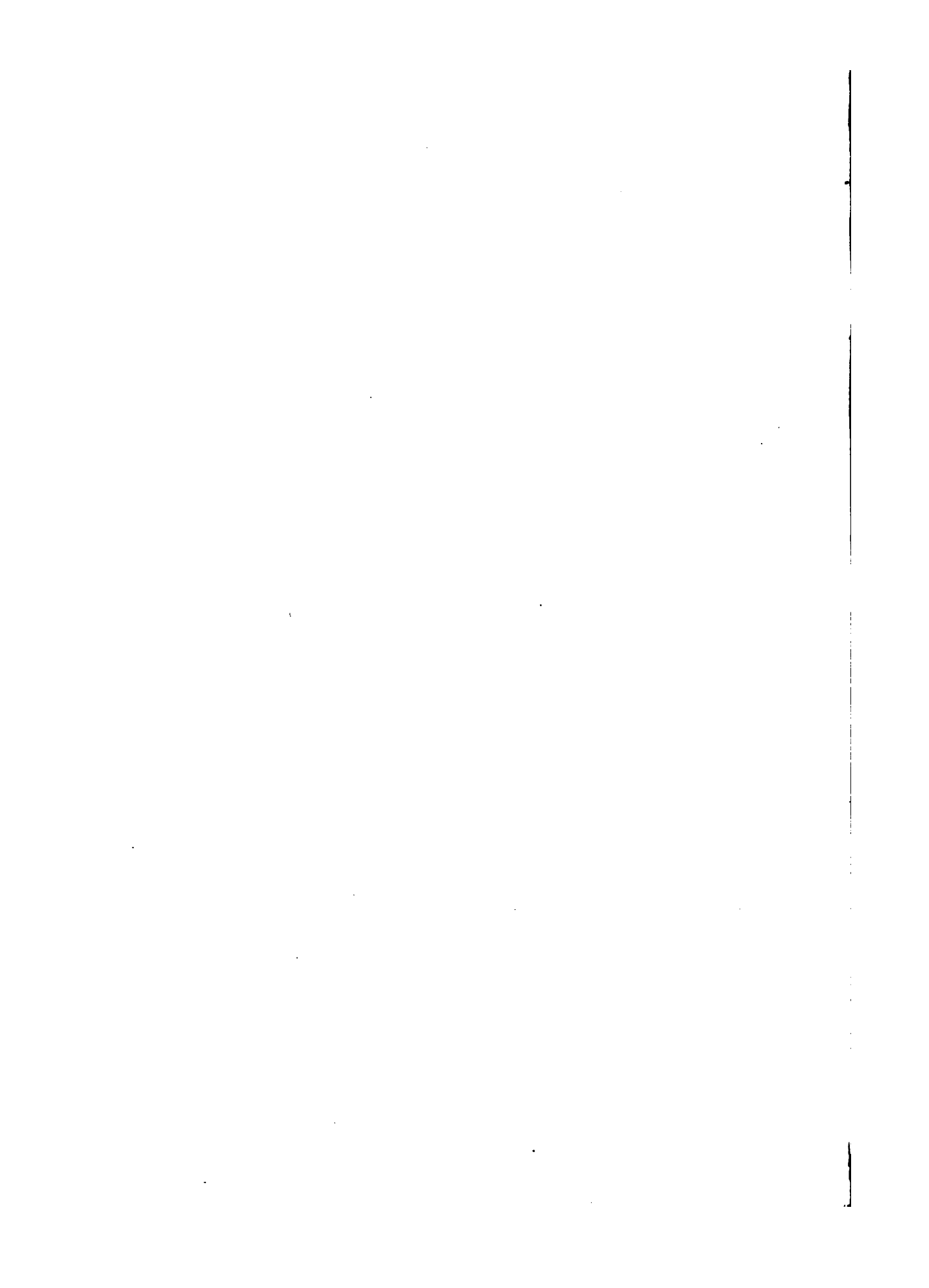
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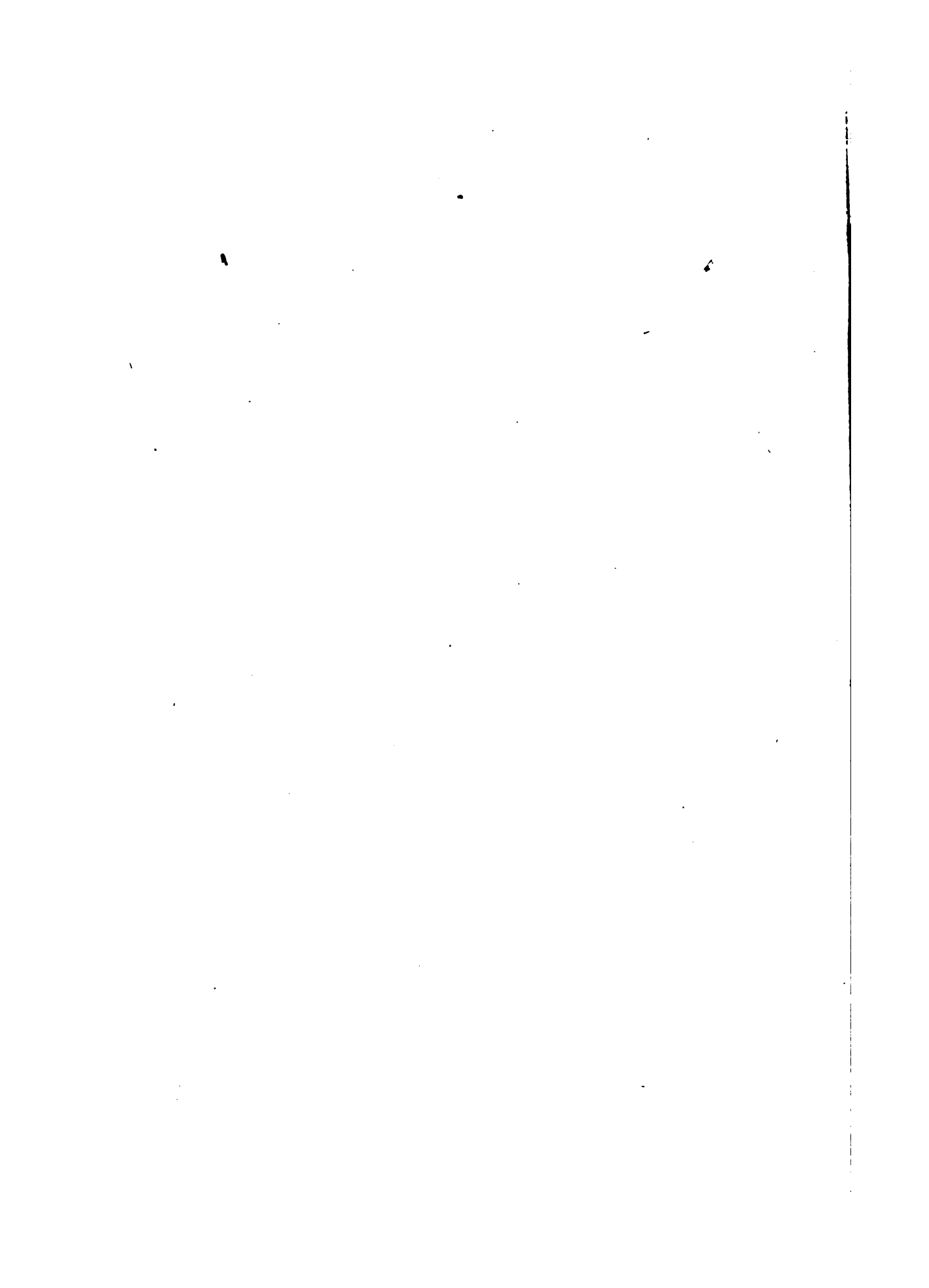


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NUMBER 1.]

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New York, 9 Mar. 1885.

R. C. Davis, Esq.

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with no. 10, Dec. 1876.

Truly,

R. R. Bowker

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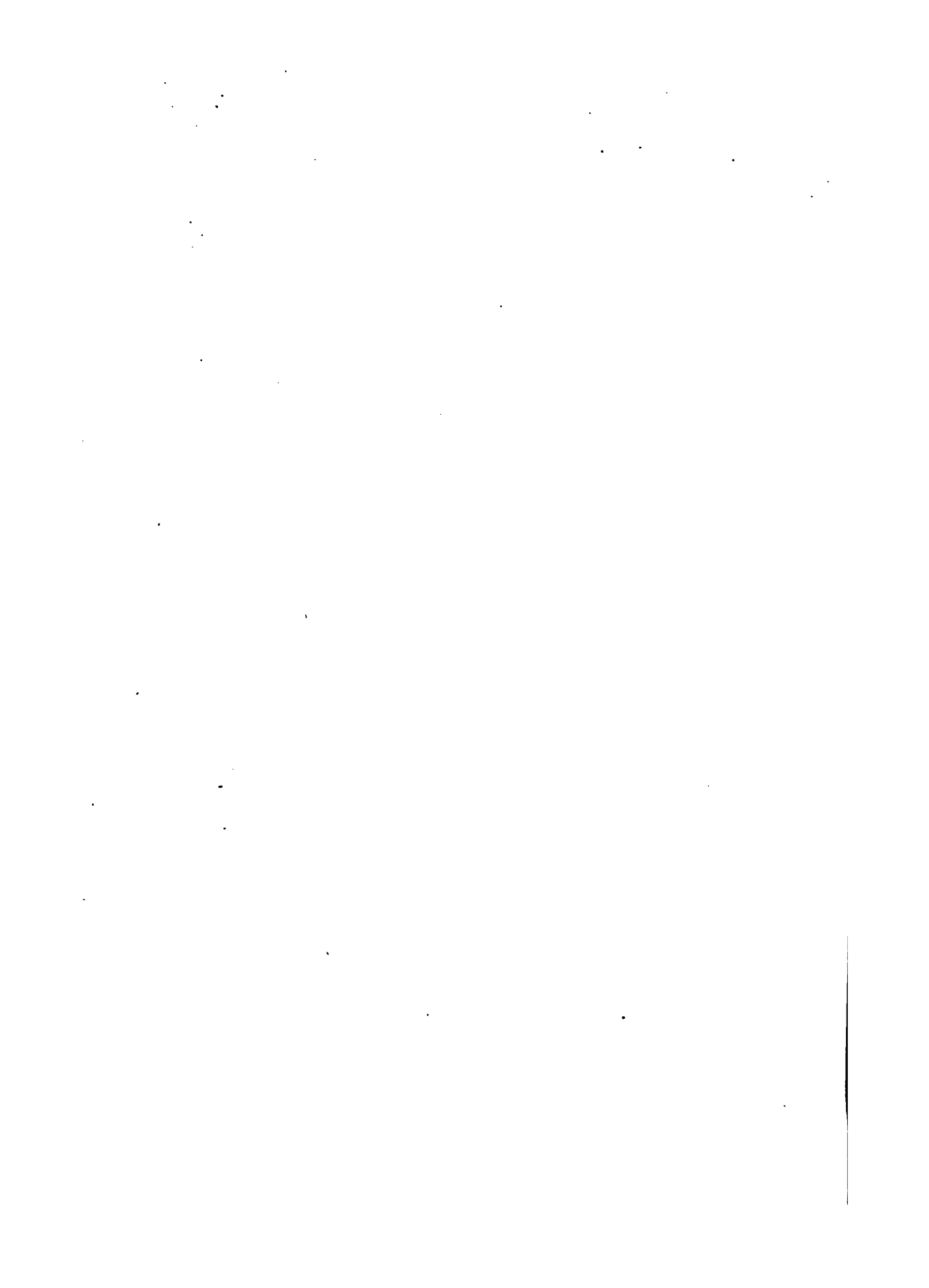
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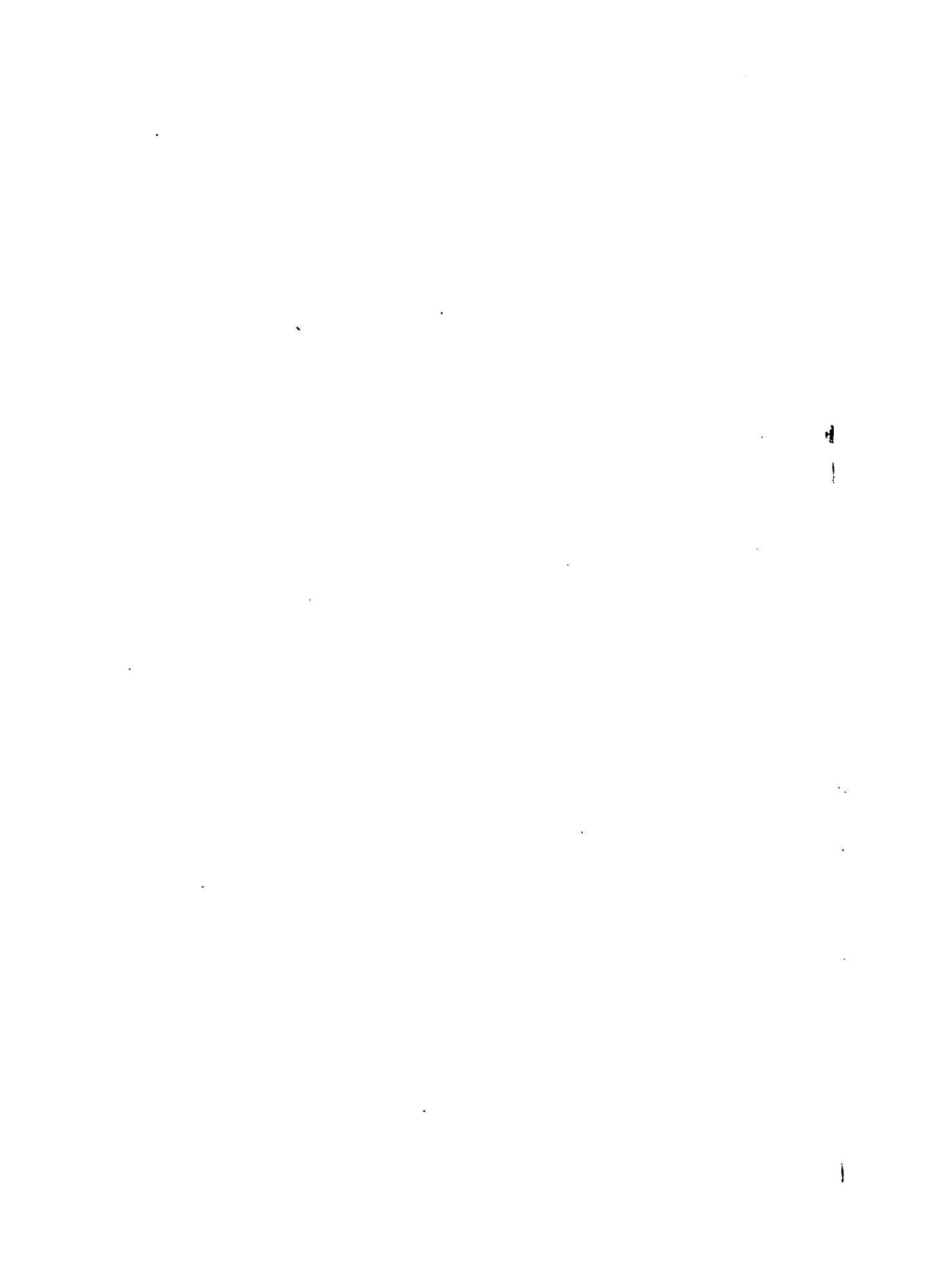
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The New Century.

THE QUESTION OF THE CENTURY.

Taxation was the question out of which came our national birth; we must take care that it does not become the cause of our national death.

The closing year of the nation's first century has been signalized by recalling the events identified with its early struggles. There is a revival of patriotic enthusiasm and a rekindling of the fires which, one hundred years ago, warmed the hearts of our forefathers in their resistance to unjust and oppressive taxation.

There is a hum of busy preparation for celebrating our first centennial in a manner deemed worthy of such an era. Extensive and elaborate buildings are in course of construction in which to exhibit to the world the success we have achieved in agriculture, manufactures, mechanic arts and the sciences.

There is reason enough to believe that in the proposed exhibition there will be abundant grounds for the gratification of our national pride. The century, in its later half at least, has been remarkable for the progress made in scientific investigation, mechanical invention and material wealth, towards which we have contributed our full proportion, and are not likely, therefore, to suffer by comparison with other nations.

There is, however, another side to this apparent prosperity and progress; another exhibition, rapidly developing with unsightly proportions quite as thoroughly identified with our history. It is not of a kind that can be gathered into one grand temple to invite admiration and worship, but it will be shown in almost every household in the land. It will be felt in an experience of hardship, of financial embarrassment, of adversity—the baneful results arising from an ignorance of or disregard for economic laws; from perversion and abuse of the power of taxation; from vain efforts to overcome the laws of nature by human enactments for the purpose of protecting a few at the expense of many.

The consequences cannot awaken enthusiasm or stimulate our vanity, but will gravely suggest the enquiry how long yet before we secure the full benefit of that Declaration of Independence which we are preparing to celebrate ?

Nearly one hundred years ago our fathers declared themselves free and independent of a nation that exercised the power to levy taxes unjustly ; now we are struggling under an accumulated burden of evils which have grown out of the same question ; evils which are still increasing and becoming dangerous to our national life. After years of conflict to secure the right of adjusting our own taxes, we most unwisely engrafted upon our laws a disguised, insidious and deceptive method for obtaining revenue, borrowed from the monarchies of Europe, and contrary to the principles of republicanism, and now we are forced to grapple with the results of this vital mistake and meet the question of taxation in the most formidable shape that ever confronted a nation. The conflict is not now with a foreign foe, but with an element which we created and have fostered within our own borders.

The question can be successfully met and the evil overcome, but it will require the most intelligent, vigorous and determined efforts to settle it and secure the liberty which was fought for so long ago.

At no former time in our history has there been a higher development of skill in all our industries, or a greater productiveness in the area of our land cultivation ; these are indisputable elements of prosperity. And at no former time in our history have the requirements for public debts and expenditures been so great and taxation so oppressive. These must all be faithfully provided for, but they will absorb an undue proportion of what we produce and increase the difficulty of earning a living. This is unmistakable evidence of impending adversity.

At no former time have official extravagance and corruption prevailed to such an alarming extent ; nor has the power of government patronage been so overshadowing and so openly manifested ; nor so many office-holders and office-seekers, with shameless defiance, controlling political and party machinery for selfish and wicked purposes.

These evils which have developed into such dangerous magnitude, originated in a revenue system that is not only disguised and deceptive, but places official accountability at the furthest remove from the people.

Expenditures for local and state and national government must all be provided for by taxing the people in one form or another, directly or indirectly. The cost of supporting local and state government by open

and direct taxation is raised by a way that the people can understand, and in which they may check extravagance and exact accountability from the officers chosen by themselves for this duty.

The revenue for national expenditures is paid to the government directly through custom houses, by importers, in the form of duties, but it is finally paid by the people in an enormously increased cost of the necessaries of life; this increase is not for the benefit of the government, but is an indirect tax wrung out of the many for the support and protection of private enterprises.

No one among us raises a question regarding the necessity for paying all the expenses of government, but it is of the utmost importance that taxation for this purpose shall be in harmony with purely republican principles, and shall be confined to this specific purpose. The power delegated to the government to raise taxes, if honestly and intelligently exercised, will be a source of national strength; if ignorantly or corruptly exercised, it will be an element of destruction. It is not taxation to which the people object, but to the injustice and extravagance which grow out of any system that fosters dishonesty and corruption, and which culminates into a centralization of despotic power.

We are on the threshold of a new century; shall we on entering it be willing to have all the great interests of the country imperiled by continuing in the course thus far pursued, or shall we seek to adopt principles of taxation that will eradicate the elements of destruction and ensure renewed strength and life, making it in truth a government of the whole people, by the whole people, for the whole people, for all coming time.

THE NATIONAL IDEA AND THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

BY PROFESSOR W. G. SUMNER.

It is a sign of a dogma in dissolution to change its form and to yield points of detail, while striving to guard its vested interests and traditional advantages. Just now the dogma of protection is striving to find standing ground, after a partial retreat, for a new defense, in the doctrine of nationality. We are told that there is only a "national" and not a "political" economy, that there are no universal laws of exchange, consequently no science of political economy; that it is only an art, and has only an empirical foundation, and that it varies with national circumstances to such a degree as to be controlled by nothing higher than traditional policy or dogmatic assumption. Great comfort is found for this position in the assertion that the German economists have discovered

or adopted its truth. How utterly unjust and untrue this is as a matter of fact, those who have read the works of the German economists must know. It is untrue, in the first place, that they are unanimously of the school of the *socialistes en chaire*, and, in the second place, it is untrue that the *socialistes en chaire* are clear and unanimous in their position. They occupy every variety of position, from extreme willingness to entrust the state with judgment in the application of economical prescriptions, to the greatest conservatism in that regard. Finally, it is not true that any of them are protectionists.

We do not intend, however, to discuss the opinion or authority of the schools in question. If it should be claimed that the extreme admission made by some of the Germans of this school, that protection may be beneficial to a nation at a certain stage of development, is applicable to the United States to-day, we should desire no better footing for the controversy.

It is more directly interesting, however, to examine the doctrine of nationality on its merits. It will appear upon even a cursory examination of this kind, that existing nations are arbitrary and traditional divisions. There was published in Europe, in 1863, when the Emperor Napoleon was urging on an attempt to secure stable equilibrium in European politics by adjusting political divisions according to race and language divisions, a map of Europe thus rationally constructed. The effort, however, offered the most striking proof of the impossibility of reconstructing, on any such rationalistic or logical basis, political circumstances which are the historical outgrowth of political struggles and political accidents. The nations which must be made the subject of discussion are, therefore, such as exist, and of them it is true that their boundaries coincide with no lines of race, language, culture, industry, commerce, or anything else which would give the basis of scientific classification, so that different principles could be consistently applied in each. There was a time, indeed, when the civil subdivisions were small and numerous—when manners, customs, costumes and language varied over every hundred square miles of Europe—but the whole tendency of the great inventions of modern times is to obliterate these boundary lines for purposes of industry and trade.

It is not necessary to go into the history of Europe for proofs and illustrations. The very best are furnished by our own continent and our own nation. The geographical area known to-day as the United States is the result of discovery, conquest and purchase. It would have been impossible a century ago to constitute an empire of such extent, and to govern it according to the requirements of modern life. The improvements in transportation and the transmission of intelligence have made it physically possible, and the combination of local institutions with a centralized organization has made it politically possible.

When we turn to inquire, however, why it has been limited just as

it has, why Canada and Mexico are outside, and why Texas, California and Alaska are within, we come at once to the historical antecedents which are partly accidents and partly ancient struggles and hostilities. Canada was never made thoroughly English before the revolutionary war; while it was French it was always hostile to the English colonies. This hostility was traditional, and there was no sympathy with the revolution. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were largely peopled by the Tory refugees, whom the unwise severity of the Whigs forced to emigrate during and after the war. Texas was won from Mexico in war. California and the other Pacific States were obtained partly by conquest and partly by purchase. A few years ago we discussed a plan for purchasing San Domingo. Out of these historical movements, part of which fell out one way and part the other, the actual geographical limits of the United States result.

Now, according to the Constitution of the United States, no one of these States can make any laws restricting commerce between itself and any of the others. If it be asserted that states which pursue different industries cannot afford to trade freely with one another, here we have them—New York and Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Minnesota, Maine and Louisiana. If it be asserted that states with like industries cannot afford to trade freely with one another, here we have them—Indiana and Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Alabama and Mississippi. If it be said that small States cannot afford to trade freely with great empires, here are New York and Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Delaware. Why do not the great states suck the life out of the small ones? If it be said that new states with little capital, and on the first stage of culture, cannot afford to exchange freely with old states having large capital and advanced social organization, here are New York and Oregon, Massachusetts and Idaho. How can any territories ever grow into states under the pressure? If it be said that a state which relies on one industry cannot afford to exchange freely with one which has a diversified industry, here are Pennsylvania and Colorado, California and Nevada, any of the cotton states and any of the north-eastern states. No such strong illustrations are furnished by any states in the world which are sovereign and independent of each other. The Constitution of the Union enforces absolute freedom of exchanges, and each state pays its own taxes and supports its own government. The traveler rarely knows when he passes from one state to another. As to what he buys or where he buys, what he sells or where he sells, it would be considered an unwarrantable impertinence for any public official to inquire. Yet no man has ever been known, so far as we are aware, to complain of this as a hardship, or as imposing a loss upon him, and no such complaint has arisen from any state as a state, nor has any one been heard to claim that there was here an actual loss, which must be endured for the sake of the great benefits which come from Union. On the contrary, it is universally and tacitly agreed that this is one of the great benefits of the Union.

Here, however, comes in another phase of the matter. If a man lives in Vermont he must trade freely with New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York, but if he wants to trade northward to Canada, it is regarded as fatal to him and to his country, that he should do so freely. As we won Texas from Mexico, we enter into absolute free trade with her, but we think that it would be ruinous to trade freely with the rest of the ancient state of Mexico. If we had got the political jurisdiction of San Domingo, we should have entered into free exchanges with her, but the difficulty of the political jurisdiction was the main ground of the wise decision of the nation not to buy that island. If, however, we cannot have the trouble of the political jurisdiction, we think it would be calamitous to have the free exchanges. Free exchanges with Cuba are not to be thought of on our part, even if they would be granted on hers.

Here, then, the refutation of the "nationality" notion is right before us, and it is at the same time the condemnation of our policy in regard to foreign commerce. If there be any such thing as an "American system"—a system which we can claim to illustrate and advocate before the civilized world, it must be that of absolute free trade, each state or nation providing for its own needs and expenses, each state freely open to all comers, securing peace and safety to persons and property while within its borders.

The "British system" is different, and is distinctly defined. It is to raise revenue by customs for convenience, and to lay excises to counteract "incidental protection." We would be very glad to see the British system introduced into this country, but if the protectionists taunt free-traders with flinching from the consequences of their doctrine, we accept the challenge. We are convinced by the experience of the United States, that the best system would be to have absolutely free exchanges, and to leave each nation to pay the expense of maintaining the organization of society within its own borders.

Another application of the facts here discussed which is put to us, is deserving of far less respectful treatment. It is said that we have free trade already within the Union, and that we are discontented and unreasonable, because we demand more. It would be difficult to show why a man who has ten thousand dollars should not sue for ten thousand more which are due him, or why a man who enjoys the right of locomotion is unreasonable in demanding the right of association.

There is in all that we have said no infringement upon the true idea of the "nation," and no derogation from its value and dignity. It exists historically and traditionally, and we take it as it is handed down to us. It is an organized human society, whose limits are given historically, and are maintained for convenience, because they allow play to certain local interests, prejudices, traditions, habits and customs. Whether it is formed by accident and immemorial tradition, or by colonization and legislative act, it develops an organic life. The society as such

develops functions. Its harmonious action emanates from its individual members and reacts upon them. Its government is the machinery by which harmony, co-operation and unity are brought about. It would seem, however, that America had done its greatest service to the world by showing that states did not exist for the sake of bringing men into convenient groups for making either commercial or military war upon each other, but that they might more easily embrace the earth in a family of harmonious communities.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

OURSELVES.

The work of the Alliance is carried on entirely by voluntary service, and is consequently subject, more or less, to interruptions by other claims upon the time of its officers. Incessant and imperative official duties have prevented the Secretary from acknowledging the large number of letters which have been received, except by mailing a copy of our pamphlet—"OUR REVENUE SYSTEM AND THE CIVIL SERVICE, SHALL THEY BE REFORMED?"

Notwithstanding these obstacles, the work has been quietly and steadily progressing. Information of the most encouraging character clearly indicates to us that the seed we have been sowing is promising an early harvest.

Thus far we have confined ourselves to circulating the pamphlet. It seems now to be necessary that we should enlarge the boundaries of our work; and while there may be some appearance of presumption in our entering upon a field already so well and so ably filled as that of Journalism, we have only to say that it is not with any desire to become competitors, but mainly to keep up a communication with, and furnish aid to, the large number of friends throughout the country who are already believing that the measures proposed by us afford the most hopeful method for securing much-needed reforms.

The *Evening Post*, in announcing our first meeting, said:

"The significance of the meeting lies in the fact that a movement, obscure in its origin and quietly pushed forward, has attained such a measure of growth as to justify holding regular public meetings. It is suggestive from the fact that from the beginning the movers in it have taken the high scientific ground of absolute free trade, and that their strength to-day has not been diminished in any way by compromises or by equivocal expressions as to what they mean.

"Now, whatever may be thought of absolute free trade as an element in the practical administration of government, and however men may differ as to the impolicy or impossibility of raising revenues for the gov-

ernment by means of direct taxation, it cannot be other than encouraging to all men who seek the improvement of government methods according to scientific principles to know that in this country, which has been given over for many years to protectionist theories, it has been possible for a few men to attain such a measure of success in the advocacy of absolute free trade doctrine.

“We are very glad that the organization has been so prosperous, and we hope that its future growth will be in all respects equal to its promising beginning.”

The *Chicago Tribune*, in heartily endorsing the plan and work of the Alliance, says:

“The tariff robbers are all organized, and have representatives at Washington during every session of Congress. The tariff-robbed have no organization, no unity of purpose, and consequently no success. The Free Trade Alliance offers the nucleus of the needed organization. A congeries of clubs, extending in a network over the whole country, and organized under one common management is by no means an impossibility. Take a man of education ardently imbued with a belief in the paramount importance of the cause, with a ready pen, fluency in speech, and some tact in meeting men,—take such a man, settle \$40,000 on him, so that he can be guaranteed support for himself and his, and he can do some marvelous work. The combination of qualities is by no means uncommon, but the men who possess them are apt to have them deadened by the necessary pursuit of money, if they are born poor, and by the enervating influence of wealth, if they are born rich and reared in luxury. The time is ripe for such a man, and many eyes are looking for him. If the Presidential election of 1876, settles the currency question, the country will be all ready for a great struggle on free trade.”

We do not know how soon “the great struggle” is coming—there are signs of it already in the air—but the men on the right side must begin now to inform the people, that they also may be on the right side when the time comes. It will be a life and death struggle when it does come.

The Engineering and Mining Journal is a representative of some of our most important industries, which is neither prohibition nor free trade in its policy, but gives the facts on both sides. It is, therefore, the more significant that, in discussing the duty on copper, it says that while a number of unprofitable mines would be closed without the tariff and the price be reduced so that the enormous earnings of the combination running the two chief mines would be much decreased, yet even then our production would exceed our consumption and no foreign copper would come in. The imposition of a tariff, therefore, simply “makes manufacturers demand from our own people prices greatly in excess of

those at which they are willing to sell to foreigners" and prevents our using American labor to manufacture it into other shape for export.

"Now, since no amount of coddling or subsidy can increase either the quantity or richness of ore in a vein, and since the production of our rich mines exceeds our consumptive demand, it seems unjust that every consumer of copper should be taxed to make good an unfortunate investment in unprofitable mines."

"Free trade should be one grand aim of our legislation. The arguments which uphold protection as between nations lose no force when applied to states, counties or towns. The only natural protection is that afforded by oceans or mountains, or other physical barriers, and certainly in our case these ought to be sufficient."—The *Christian Union*, Aug. 4th, 1875.

The one need of the people of this country, in the question of free trade, is information. When the people are thoroughly informed, there is no question what their verdict will be. It becomes, therefore, very important to disseminate the literature of political economy. Lists of many of the leading works will be found in our advertising pages, and we especially call attention to the fact that Bastiat's "Sophisms of Protection," as originally published in this country by the American Free Trade League, with Mr. Horace White's preface, is now in the list of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The *Christian Union* for Nov. 17 says:

"Supervising Architect Potter recommends immediate steps for the construction of a new Custom House in this city. No doubt, if we are to have custom houses at all it is well to have good ones; and although we would like to see them wholly abolished, that is hardly to be expected within the present century. The only suggestion that we would make to Mr. Potter is that in drawing his plans he should try to render the Custom House utterly unfit for political machinery." The architect who can do this has not yet been born, and by the time he is born there will be no custom houses.

An incident occurred at our first public meeting, interesting to us because of its bearing upon the international character of our work.

A native of Japan, Mr. Sacchi Taneda, having become very much interested in our advocacy of commercial freedom, attended the meeting and desired to identify himself with us.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held at the close of the public meeting, Mr. Taneda was introduced by the President, and cordially welcomed to our membership.

MONTHLY PROCEEDINGS.

The first public meeting of the International Free Trade Alliance was held at the rooms on Washington Square, on Monday evening, November 8th.

The rooms of the Alliance were well filled, and a deep interest was manifested in all the proceedings.

The President, Mr. F. H. HARRISON, in calling the meeting to order, said :

GENTLEMEN,—This is the first meeting of the International Free Trade Alliance. It is the first meeting of this kind that has ever been held so far as I know in this country. Our organization is somewhat different from that of any other organization which has taken the name of free trade to itself. We are, as the American Free Trade League was, with whom a portion of us have labored, in favor of abolishing the protective features in our system of collection of duties; but we go further. Our objective point is that of absolute Free Trade. We are in favor of reform, as the American Free Trade League was in favor of reform; but we are not, as they were, in favor of stopping at any point short of free trade. We speak respectfully of them, because we know the object that they had in view and we know the gentlemen with whom we labored. It is scarcely necessary for me to prolong my remarks. I simply desire to say that we know something of the strength, and we know something of the wily arts of our opponents. We do not despise them, but we propose to meet them on fair ground, and discuss this subject upon its merits, believing that we have truth and justice on our side.

The PRESIDENT then called upon the Secretary to make a statement and address regarding the work of the Alliance, which was responded to as follows :

GENTLEMEN,—I have in my hands several letters received from gentlemen who express their sympathy with our work, but who are unable to be with us to-night. One from Professor Sumner of New Haven, another from Dr. C. R. Agnew, another from Parke Goodwin, Esq., and another from Robert B. Roosevelt, Esq. Also a note recently received from Dorman B. Eaton, Esq., in which he says: "I wish you success in your proposed work. The darkness that needs to be enlightened and the difficulties that need to be removed along your proposed path, are enough to discourage any man who has not an unselfish and patriotic spirit."

This organization and this meeting to-night are the result of a quiet work which has been going on for about four years past. Our President and myself were once members of the executive committee of the American Free Trade League when that organization was in favor of "unrestricted commercial intercourse with all the world." We under-

stood this to mean absolute free trade; we ascertained, however, that it was not so interpreted by the League, but that it was intended to mean an "anti-protective revenue tariff." This was too limited a meaning for us, but there was no organization more advanced with which we could become identified, and we continued to work in that field. In course of time the league changed its constitution and became an avowed advocate for a revenue tariff, was afterwards involved in the Cincinnati Convention of 1872, and since that event it has entirely disappeared. The American Free Trade League has no vital existence to-day.

After withdrawing from the League we prepared a pamphlet with the title of "Our Revenue System and the Civil Service: Shall they be Reformed?" in which we proposed to secure reform by abolishing custom houses and officers as the best means to accomplish the result. This pamphlet we have sent to those whom we supposed would give it thoughtful consideration. We have distributed five thousand copies, and have received hundreds of letters cordially approving its proposed method, and of these, one hundred men, in as many different towns, have volunteered to co-operate with us in promoting the work. We have an Advisory Committee, so called, of eighteen gentlemen of this city, and an Executive Committee, recently formed, who are engaging in the work with an earnestness worthy of success.

We have been supported until recently by irregular but sufficient contributions, amounting thus far to less than a total of one thousand dollars. We do not believe the same proportion of results has ever been secured in the expenditure of so small a sum of money.

We are now preparing to issue a journal for the purpose of more readily communicating with our corresponding members and as a means of enlarging the boundaries of our work, and have adopted also definite conditions of membership, which will appear in our Journal, and we are preparing for an increasingly vigorous prosecution of the work.

This is, as has already been said, the first public meeting that we suppose has ever been held for advocating Absolute Free Trade. There have been individuals all along in the history of our country who have advocated "Free Trade and Direct Taxation," and there have been more of them in the Southern than in the Northern states, but I do not know that there has ever been an organization distinctly and definitely formed for the purpose of advancing the adoption of this system; and whether little or much or nothing grows out of this effort, we cannot tell. We hope, however, that in so far as endeavoring to sow pure political seed in a country devoted to freedom, the effort may be successful.

Free trade seems to be very offensive to a large number of men who claim that the system of "protection" is necessary for this country, because it is comparatively a new one among nations. Now, as the protective system is one which prevents us from buying what we need in the cheapest market—one which places obstacles in our way and requires a greater amount of effort to overcome them—the question arises whether

the country when in its infancy did not need greater freedom and less obstacles and fewer barriers than at any other time in its history? and if so, when did or when can the time ever come that such barriers should be raised? When this country was first settled in its little colonies did they want to shut out from all the world anything that could be brought to them in the way of clothing or tools, or even luxuries? Or did they need to get them of whomsoever they could on the best terms possible?

It seems to me that it is necessary for those who advocate the "protection" or *shut-out* theory to tell us when the time comes, if ever, that the first barriers should be raised.

We are of course opposed to the "protective" theory, believing that the more men are helped by the government the more they will need to be helped, and that the time will never come when they can stand alone.

Let me illustrate what I believe is the true result of the first recognition of "protection" as an incidental feature of our revenue system: Nearly ninety years ago, when we first adopted a tariff for revenue, "incidental protection" was admitted as one of its features by the fixing of a duty of 5 per cent. on cottons and woollens and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on iron, and these rates were believed to be all that were at that time or would ever be necessary for protection as well as for revenue. To-day, very much larger rates, perhaps a full average of ten times more, are considered absolutely necessary for *protection alone* in order to sustain these interests, and the revenue feature has become a subordinate one. It seems to me very evident by this kind of comparison that "protection," applied thoroughly and increasingly as it has been, has proved more enervating in its effect than anything that could be foisted upon the country, and from the effects of which we cannot recover except by removing it entirely.

Now, in regard to a revenue tariff, a great many persons claim to be free traders who advocate a revenue tariff. We differ with them in this construction, because, not only as a matter of principle, but practically, it is not possible to frame a tariff for revenue that will produce sufficient income for the government and not be in some essential respects and to a large degree a protective tariff. It is therefore very difficult for many persons to understand the difference between a revenue tariff which is largely protective and a protective tariff.

The working of either of these requires custom houses and all the cumbrous and expensive machinery of the government to enforce the laws of commercial obstruction, resulting as the custom house system has in becoming so corrupt that it is a curse to the country. There has been an outgrowth of systematic smuggling, bribery, corruption and extravagance, together with a host of officials who use their places and power for partisan ends, and this outgrowth has become so identified with and a part of the system that it cannot be exterminated while the system exists.

With regard to free trade, as we understand its meaning. Free trade absolute is the underlying element of all the questions of reform before the country to-day. Free trade is a question of exchange, and

necessarily includes that of finance; it is a question of taxation, and taxation is the most important of all questions before the country; it is a question of personal freedom in pursuing lawful business, and it relates specially to the question of civil service reform. There is, therefore, no *one* of the economic questions now claiming an intelligent solution that includes so much as this, or, as we believe, that can be more easily solved if the people so determine.

There are many who claim to be in favor of revenue reform who say of the measures we propose, "Oh, yes; it is all very well in theory, but it is not practicable." Now, we say there is no "theory" about free trade absolute, and nothing but *lack of will* to make it practicable.

It does not need any theory to instruct us how to trade on the best terms that we can—fairly and openly. There is no theory about it, for men instinctively adopt it if not forcibly prevented.

The claim of any possible advantage resulting from protection—it being an obstruction and contrary to the natural order of trade—must rest upon some "theory" which our opponents should be required to establish.

The custom house system, if it exists only as a revenue tariff, is so indirect and disguised a method for that purpose that it is utterly impossible for any man to ascertain how much it costs him. It is the most difficult of all methods of taxation to understand and almost impossible to correct if wrong; yet there are persons who assert that the people will not submit to any other method; that they *prefer* being taxed indirectly and had rather be deluded into ignorantly paying more than paying less with a full knowledge of it. It seems to me that this is a libel upon the common sense and patriotism of the people, and I do not believe it is true. If you will ask the question of the first twenty men you meet, fifteen men out of the twenty will admit that the system of free trade and direct taxation is right and is the best for this country, yet each one will suppose that very few others agree with him.

Now, I believe that if the question was put fairly to the whole people, man by man, a majority would express the opinion, at least, that direct taxation is the most economical and least corrupting, and that it would be the best system for this country: each for himself would be willing to have it adopted. I believe, too, that the people of this country will not object to taxation, having sense and honesty enough to recognize its necessity, their care being mainly that the money be honestly and properly expended. The most of the people here in New York, even with the large amount called for, would not object if the money paid into the Treasury were applied honestly and intelligently for proper and legitimate purposes. So would it be all over the country.

There is no expense the people submit to more willingly than taxation, if taxation purely. Who among us is not connected with some organization where all the members submit to assessments for mutual benefits, or for promoting some desirable object? All over the country you

find men contributing cheerfully to associations with which they are connected, and that is only a question of voluntary taxation. Men voluntarily submit to it not only, but they are glad to do so; and if they could feel satisfied that all money raised by taxation for the support of the government of the United States was properly expended, there could not be found an honest man in the country who would not feel proud to pay his proportion towards sustaining the government.

I think it is time that we should meet a question of this kind, and have it brought before the people, as to whether they will sustain a disguised and unjust system of taxation, which fosters extravagance, corruption and centralization, in preference to an open and equitable one, which can be intelligently dealt with.

Our nationality has existed nearly one hundred years, and we are preparing to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of our revolt from unjust taxation. Are we not to-day in danger of another revolution on the same question; not of *just* taxation, but the abuses which have grown out of taxation? The *system* of taxation in this country, the corruption and wrongs that have been fostered by it, is why we are now oppressed and burdened. Is there not need of a new departure on this question—one to be accomplished effectively and without disaster by the intelligence of the people through proper legislation? Is it not a timely question whether, in beginning our second century, we will begin it by taking the road we ought to have taken ninety years ago?

We were then at the diverging point of two methods for providing the government with necessary support. In 1789, when our federal constitution was adopted, the method of raising revenue was, of course, one of the absorbing questions. It was a question whether to apportion it among the states, according to their population and representation, or to raise it as they do in other countries, not republican but monarchical. Should they adopt a tariff on imports, which was a feature of those forms of government, or should they adopt that which we are now urging? How very near they were to absolute free trade! and yet they adopted this feature of monarchy—a road diverging from republicanism, which we have heedlessly followed ever since, and which has led to more sectional animosity and strife and bitterness, more panics, more overturnings of business plans and calculations, than all other questions put together. It has well-nigh severed this country in twain.

I don't want any one else to be held responsible for the opinion but myself; but I am just as firm in the conviction as that we are here together, that our war of 1861 grew out of the tariff system. And I will tell you why I think so. We began in 1789 with a very small tariff for revenue, as an experiment to be tried for the period of seven years, being so uncertain whether direct taxation would not be found the better method. It was an easy method to obtain revenue. It afforded, too, easy facilities for increasing expenditures without creating suspicion, as they could be met by a light annual increase in rates of duty and in the num-

ber of articles on which selfish men sought "protection." It has, therefore, been an increasing incentive to selfish and improper legislation which has been too great a temptation for men to resist.

The tariff, therefore, has been subject to tinkering and changes at almost every session of Congress since 1789, resulting in an avowedly protective tariff in 1816, followed by repeated increase for class interests, producing animosity and alienation between different sections of the country, resulting in threatened civil war in 1832.

Before the adoption of a protective tariff, slavery was looked upon as an evil, even in the South, and many there were anxious to get rid of it, but high duties encouraging manufactures at the North, resulted in fastening slavery upon the South, as a form of cheap labor for producing raw material, rendered apparently necessary in order to *protect themselves* against high and higher prices which they had to pay to the protected manufactures of the North. The war seemed to be a result of slavery, but slavery was fastened upon the South by the Tariff Legislation. I repeat it, as my belief, that the tariff question has been the source of all the sectional animosities of this country since the adoption of the federal constitution, and the primary cause of the war of 1861.

Now, we find, in this hundredth year, that we have large burdens of taxation; we have extravagance and corruption in official life, such as never existed before; rings of officials who control and direct the political machinery which manages all parties—rings that put men in nomination and secure their election on one side or the other.

These are results which have grown out of the tariff, a method of taxation inimical to republican institutions; results which stand directly in the way of civil service reform, as the very men who, themselves, need to be reformed, control the political organizations of the country. Now, it seems to me that there is no way to secure civil service reform, or reform in taxation, other than by the course which we propose, namely, is to abolish our custom house system, and adopt other methods for supporting the government.

Here let me read to you from an article which appeared in the editorial columns of the *New York Tribune*, only a few days ago, a paper once the foremost champion of protection, and whose founder, more than once, in substance, said that if a tariff for protection is not right, then there should be no tariff at all.

"A very entertaining book might be made by collecting the experience of Americans returning from a foreign tour, in respect to their baggage. There have been many changes in the custom house system, and at frequent intervals a new set of regulations has been imposed. Smuggling in passengers' baggage has gone on continuously under all systems. It keeps pace in amount with the increase of travel. Its yearly total has been variously estimated by hundreds of thousands of dollars and by millions. For some inscrutable reason, men who never in their lives attempted a dishonest act, and ladies whose title to respectability has never been questioned, seem to think this a venial offense. The goods smuggled as baggage are pointed to in households with a sort of pride, for

months afterward, the owner tells his guest with a pleasant chuckle, 'Uncle Sam never got a dollar's worth of duty on that lot;' and perhaps experiences are interchanged as to the most recent mode of managing such exploits.

* * * * *

"No new plan will make the present race of officials in this port as honest as—for instance—United States soldiers. A reform, to be effectual, must include the men as well as the methods of the custom house."

That paragraph in the N. Y. *Tribune* will serve to illustrate one of the reasons why we would propose to have the system abolished.

If this theory so undermines the characters of some of the better men in the community who are occasionally brought in contact with it, how does it affect all the mercantile community who are constantly tempted by it? Is it not like the cancer in the human system, which sends its roots into the very vitals, and which will surely prove fatal, unless it is eradicated.

Many of the people of this country have been for so many years accustomed to the present system that they can hardly believe any other can be adopted, and this is true of many who claim to be revenue reformers and free traders, who meet us, when urging our views, with various objections. One says, "O, yes, it will do after our large debt is paid; how can we pay that without a tariff?" I reply, that there are other ways to pay our debt. The debt of New York State was once about forty millions of dollars, now it is almost paid and it has been done without a tariff. The State apportioned it among counties, it was collected by the county machinery and sent to the State Treasurer; and the same method may be adopted by the general government, by which course, the whole expense of collecting could be saved, the people would know the cost, and the federal tax-gatherers could be reformed out of office.

Another revenue reformer said to me: "You want so much all at once; why won't you take half a loaf, when you can't get the whole?" I replied, that we believed the country ought to have the whole of this system removed, and therefore we ask for the whole. We do not propose to compromise in advance, as revenue reformers do, and offer to take the half until our opponents offer, at least, to yield something on their part, which they have not yet offered to do, and I do not see that they are inclined to. I think we had better say we want the whole until, at least, there is an offer to divide. Still another says, "Oh, yes; it is right, and it must come at some time in the course of a great many years, but it won't do to attempt it now." We answer, if our principle is right, why not proclaim it as our purpose to secure its adoption, for it will never come of itself. We don't expect it immediately, to-day or to-morrow or the next day. We don't expect to have it in two, three, or five years perhaps, because there is a process of education which must be pursued throughout the country before it can be accomplished. But we do expect to have it in less than a hundred years, or before the millenium,

which is the period suggested for it by some people. We do confidently expect it, and propose to work earnestly to secure it.

"Well, but," says still another, "is it not better to get the thin edge of the wedge in first?"

It is very curious, I replied, to hear such an argument from a free trader. Why, the "edge of the wedge," as you call it, was inserted by the "protectionists" ninety years ago, and they have been driving it home with all their might ever since until the country has well-nigh split in two; and it seems to me the work for us and all reformers, is to *get the "wedge" out* just as soon as possible, that the heart of the country may grow together with the least delay.

Now, gentlemen, we don't know how we shall succeed. We have all heard the old story of the great oaks which from little acorns grew. Possibly, we may grow to the comparative proportions of an oak from a little acorn.

I was reading in a paper the other day of a man, who in California had two spoonfuls of oats sent to him about three years ago; he planted those two spoonfuls of oats, and carefully gathered the result, which he planted the next year: the third year he harvested two hundred bushels, all from two spoonfuls of oats.

And we have read of the prophetic "handful of corn in the earth, "on the top of the mountain, the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon." Why may we not be encouraged by the suggestions unfolded in these illustrations? We are advocating a patriotic and economic question, unselfishly, at a time when it is not in popular favor. We are willing to disappear in the multitude, if the seed which we are sowing will grow, and be gathered and replanted and distributed by others, until the land be blessed with an abundant harvest, the fruits being "FREE TRADE, PEACE AND GOOD WILL AMONG NATIONS."

Mr. OSWALD OTTENDORFER next addressed the meeting, saying:

Mr. PRESIDENT and GENTLEMEN,—I have been at all times a very honest and sincere advocate of the principles for which this organization has been created—Free Trade in the radical sense; but heretofore, at least, I have had very little opportunity to exercise any influence in that direction for the reason that the question has been very little impressed on the public attention. Other questions have occupied the public mind, and yet I feel deeply convinced that it is high time that this subject should receive the attention which its importance deserves. It is my opinion that if the American people do not take up this question and discuss it and settle it on principles of right and justice, they will not have the opportunity to celebrate another centennial of liberty on this continent. They must retrace the steps they have taken in this first century in the interest of this pernicious principle of Protection. The American people have been called eminently a practical people, and that is the reason they have been so slow in approaching this subject. When it is discussed you

hear it said, "It is all very true in principle, it is right; but it is impracticable." Now, gentlemen, that which is right in principle must be admitted as such, and the practice must follow the correct principle. (Applause.) Protection is the outgrowth of centuries of European monarchical governments, and if we follow the same course, in the course of two or three generations it will appear to the people that republican principles are of no account, and that Protection must be secured under all circumstances, even if republican principles are given up. "We must secure success in our business enterprises, and we must have protection"—that will be the cry. It has required a century to build up Protection, and it may require a century to get back again, but we must get back, or republicanism will be a failure in America.

Mr. THOMAS HOLLAND, formerly an associate member of the Free Trade League, manifested his interest by being present, although, as he said, he was not fully prepared to adopt the extreme views of the Alliance—being inclined to prefer a tariff for revenue. He alluded to a conference recently held at his house, which was presided over by that eminent economist, Mr. David A. Wells, for the purpose of reviving the Free Trade League under a different name. The indications were very promising that such an organization would soon assume definite form.

Mr. WM. B. SCOTT, also formerly connected with the Free Trade League, expressed himself not only as approving fully the principles and object of the Alliance, but that he went still further in advocating freedom than limiting it to trade; as he was in favor of voluntary taxation—leaving every one to contribute such an amount as he deemed just and proper, believing such an appeal would be responded to in full proportion to the benefits resulting therefrom.

The closing address was by Mr. R. R. BOWKER, who said:

There are two questions which enter into any matter of government or economics—the question of principle, and the question of expediency. I suppose it is fair to say that the Free Traders usually discuss their subject from the side of principle, the Protectionists from the side of expediency. It is the glory of our Government that it was founded on principle—and principle in this very matter of taxation—and it is when it has temporized with "expediency" that it has come to harm. Indeed principle is always in the long run the wisest expediency, as well in government as anywhere else. But Free Trade also challenges Protection on the immediate question of expediency; it appeals not only to the history of the past, but also to the commercial and industrial facts of the present. It is ready to show that what it claims *must* be so by the very nature of things, and then it proves that it *is* so by the evidence of present facts.

Why then, it is reasonable to ask, if people are not all fools, is not Free Trade adopted at once? The answer is easy. The influence and

argument of Protection is commonly direct; of Free Trade commonly indirect, indeed roundabout. Protection is seen to put money into the pockets of certain classes, while Free Trade aims only to save money, here a little and there a little, though in all a great deal, from being inveigled "unbeknownst" out of the living of every human being in the community. It is easy to count the dollar that comes in, but not so easy to see where the hundred pennies are wasted out.

Now, this is a platform for fearless discussion, and we are not politicians, and illustrations are best the nearer home they are. Take, then, the case of city labor. An honest thing was done in reducing city wages to the market rate. Forthwith the party "out" raised a cry against it, and with this capital carried the election, and the party "in" weakly tried to dodge this question when it was too late. Most of the workingmen were easily persuaded that injustice had been done them, yet in voting to raise the city pay from the nominal rate of \$1.60 to a premium of \$2 they were really voting against themselves. Why? In the first place this is raising the taxes, and thus raising rents, and so at last the price of everything bought is a little bit more. Secondly, these heightened taxes and prices tend to drive manufactories out of the city—as many have already gone to build up Newark—and the increased city expenses cause a shut-down on public improvements, and thus the demand for labor is lessened. Thirdly, the higher price of labor in the city over that in the country tends to keep the new immigrants here, and to draw other workingmen in from the country, and thus the labor market here is overcrowded, and there are less in the country to produce from the earth the raw products for other men to manufacture. This crowding of people also raises rents again, and the fierce competition reduces the price of private labor, and makes the position of the public workman more uncertain. In brief, the workingman's vote raises his rent and the price of all he buys, makes less work for all, and brings in more hands to do that less. Now, all this is indirect, and it is not easy for him to see that this comes to more than the forty cents of the "ins," and no politician dared honestly stand up and tell him so. It is a bad thing for good government when men bravely willing to do a right thing in the face of danger are obliged to eat their own words under penalty of political death. But as each workingman who is now "in" is forced out into idleness by the unnatural competition he has brought upon himself, the terribly direct argument of poverty will at once convince him that his dollar sixty the year round was far better after all than the two dollars for uncertain weeks or months. This is at once an example of the disastrous effects of the system against natural laws which in one phase is called Protection, and of the disadvantages to which Free Trade is put in argument. It is the same with strikes. When, frequently, the employing manufacturer is given abnormal and disproportionate profits by the policy of protection, the hands, no better off, require more share;

there is a strike and a lock-out, and whichever side succeeds, both have in the total lost money in the enforced idleness.

For, in whatever shape, *Protection is industrial war!* It is a fight of class against class, one man trying to get more money than his fellows by the unfair means of getting the government to bolster him up and keep the other man down. For protection is no protection if all men are protected alike; it is only in making a difference, favoring one class above another, promoting, it may be said, a manufacturing aristocracy, that it exists at all. And so the whole history of the tariff has been that interest No. 1 gets a little higher duty than interest No. 2, and then there is a compromise on a high tariff for both, and then interest No. 3 gets a higher tariff than either, and then there is another compromise and another lift, and thus this iniquitous tariff has been rolling up, to the permanent benefit of nobody at all save the Custom House officers who pocket their salaries and commissions. For when everybody is protected, it comes just to this, that we pay so much salary out of our national and individual pockets to office-holders, and get nothing for it. You will say this is a *reductio ad absurdum*; in fact, that is just what the logical outcome of Protection is!

But, more than this, Protection is in its essence savagery—its principle is the principle of barbarism. The savage is the one man who depends on himself, and that is what Protection says it is striving to teach us. Civilization means chiefly a growing dependence upon each other, by the freer and fuller interchange of whatever we have that can be of use to another, and in turn of whatever another has that can be of use to us. Tear down your wharves, sink your ships, fill up your canals, pull up your railroads—and you will be progressive Protectionists. Build the great wall of China about your domains, and reduce them to the condition of that self-sustaining country, with its own ignorance and its own gods, and you will be Protectionists absolute.

But I for one cannot lay claim to have been always a Free Trader. It seemed to me that just as the physician gives stimulants to help his patient over the crisis of the fever, so there might be times in the economic condition of a nation when government help might tide over an industry to good purpose. That is a familiar cry. But when a physician thus makes drunkards of his patients, he may well question his system. This has been the story of the protected industries, and this is what destroys the force of this exception. The time has never come, and it will not come, when protected industries are willing to stand by themselves. The facts are that these industries, to whom a small per cent. was sufficient for protection at the start, have asked more and more, until some have now nearly ten times the protection they started with. You have seen those little dwarfed dogs for sale on Broadway. They keep them little by giving them quantities of whiskey when they are very young. And that has been the way with our protected industries; they have been stimulated with tariff whiskey, so that they can neither stand alone

nor grow healthfully. That is the way with the iron trade. One of the chief experts on iron, Prof. Newberry, in the *International Review* for November, 1874, shows outright that if our iron industries had been kept up to the improved processes in use abroad, by open competition, we should have been able to-day to produce iron cheaper than England, despite her cheaper labor, without tariff help. The tariff has kept us down. On the other hand, those industries which have depended upon Yankee ingenuity and skill, with no government help to dwarf their growth, have competed with England on her own soil. The American Watch Company is to-day running the English watchmakers hard in England itself, and there is a manufacturer of one line of jewelry goods in Maiden Lane who exports nearly his whole product to England.

Now let us, as American citizens, do the honest thing of looking facts in the face. Let us know what money we pay to keep our government going, and then let us know how that money is used. That is our duty, and it is the only way in which real freedom can be preserved. If the tariff system did no other harm, the carelessness on the one hand and corruption on the other it introduces into our political system would be sufficient reason for its abolition. It is much better to pay our dollar fairly and squarely out of our pocket-books than to have a wily pickpocket kindly saving us trouble by taking it out of our coat-tail pockets unawares. If I were to picture the tariff system, I would draw it advancing to the American workingman with a greenback dollar in the right hand of fellowship it offers him, while with its long, snaky left hand it reaches over his shoulder to filch his gold dollar from his pockets.

The one difficulty before us is the indifference with which too many Americans regard their political duty. This is leading to results which threaten our very independence. We must awake to our work. As we round into the second century, our first duty is to assure the liberty won by our fathers. Every man should know what his government costs him, and then he will have care that this money is rightly spent. This is a simple remedy for political evils, but without it we cannot tell how far corruption will go. Unchecked, that is political death.

INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE.

THIS organization has been formed for the purpose of promoting industrial and commercial freedom—absolute freedom in exchanging the productions of industry with all the world.

WE HOLD, That freedom in Trade and Commerce—freedom in exchanging the productions of our agricultural and manufacturing industries with those of other countries—is as necessary to the prosperity of the nation, as freedom in producing is to the individual. That it is a principle essential to our American liberty which cannot be violated without injury and danger to our institutions, and should never be infringed upon by the government except when absolutely and unavoidably necessary.

WE HOLD, That comfort, wealth, civilization, and the welfare of mankind are directly promoted and increased by exchanging the products of labor between individuals, and states, and nations. That farmers, or mechanics, or any other producers do not promote their own welfare by keeping more than they need of anything which they have produced, but by exchanging the surplus in purchasing whatever they desire of things produced by others, wherever they can do so most advantageously to themselves. That as a people, we are not free, in so far as the liberty to make such exchanges—such sales and purchases—is restricted by the arbitrary power of government.

WE HOLD, That the Custom House system of obtaining national revenue, violates the principles of American liberty, fosters international prejudices, is hurtful to republicanism, and hinders the growth of peace and good-will among men. That it interferes with and injures lawful business, which is constantly the subject of sudden and arbitrary changes in the tariff. That it is a formidable obstacle in the way of our national prosperity, and the pursuit of useful and honorable enterprise. That it has for many years been one of the most fruitful causes of sectional irritation and animosity. That it is a wasteful and unjust method of obtaining revenue, in causing the people to pay, in cost of living, an enormously greater amount than ever reaches the treasury. That it is a constant and strong incentive to bribery, corruption and smuggling, which are ruinous to honest merchants. That it affords excuse for employing a very large number of officials, who control political and party machinery, and whose influence prevents the first step in Civil Service Reform.

The efforts of the ALLIANCE will be directed towards obtaining ABSOLUTE FREEDOM IN TRADE AND COMMERCE by abandoning the Custom House revenue system, as soon as it can be done without injury to the best interests of the people; providing for the necessary expenses of government by a just, undisguised, and economical method of TAXATION; and ensuring CIVIL SERVICE REFORM by reducing the multitude of offices now existing, but which will then be no longer necessary.

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WHO PAY TARIFF TAXES ?

In taking ground in favor of absolute free trade and the entire abolition of the custom house revenue system, we are met with the question, "What other system is proposed as a substitute, whereby the government shall be furnished with the necessary means to meet all its proper obligations?" Inasmuch as there are various methods by which this can be done, it is, perhaps, too soon for the Alliance to recommend any specific plan. It is more important just now that the people shall become thoroughly convinced that the present system is wrong—delusive, unjust, extravagant and corrupt. When we get out of the habit of accepting things as they are—when the people begin to think for themselves, and assert their independence of partizan leaders, there will be comparatively little difficulty in finding the better way. Yet, it may not be out of place to make suggestions, from time to time, that may be pertinent, only for the purpose, however, of eliciting discussion and turning attention in this direction.

But first let us look at some of the effects of the existing system in its oppressiveness upon a large proportion of the people, who, because they live remote from custom houses, may imagine that they are exempt from these effects.

The wealth of the country, in very large measures, comes from its agricultural resources and productions—in its grain, cotton, tobacco, provisions and lumber—and under the present system of revenue, the heaviest burden necessarily falls upon this class of its industries; the prices at which they sell or the purchasing power they possess in exchanging for other necessaries, being directly and adversely affected by our tariff laws. If our agricultural productions were no more than are necessary for home consumption, this effect would not be apparent, but the increase of wealth in the country would also be less apparent. These agricultural productions are increasing far more rapidly than it is possible to find for them a market within our own borders. The foreign markets are therefore becoming constantly more necessary and valuable, while the increase of

facilities, the removing of obstacles and the lessening of cost are of the utmost importance in exchanging our productions for those of other nations which can be obtained at less cost than we can make them ourselves; for it is impossible for us to sell our products without buying others, and it increases the wealth of the country to buy cheaper than we can make, in the same degree as it increases the wealth of the individual to act on this principle—and no man of sense in the whole country does otherwise.

Now, what is the effect of the present tariff system upon the farmers and planters—upon our grain, provisions, cotton, tobacco, lumber, etc.? The prices of these commodities are regulated by rates at which the surplus will sell in foreign markets. The producer must conform to the laws of trade in the matter of selling this surplus, for our "protection" laws cannot possibly benefit him in any other country. Now, while the farmer or planter must sell at the prices regulated *abroad*, he cannot buy what he may need in exchange, at prices for which such things sell in the same market. He can carry his produce to Europe—or have some one do it for him, without our government requiring any export duty or tax, but he cannot exchange it for iron or cloth, or salt or sugar, or fruits or any other articles which he may desire, without being obliged to pay a duty or tax when he or his agent brings them home where he can use them. If he brings back the value in money to buy what he wants here, he cannot buy anything, either foreign or home-made, except at a price enhanced by this tax—there is no escape from its effect, and he cannot throw it off on others.

The man of wealth may avoid it in a degree by living abroad where the income from his investments in this country will purchase double the amount of comfort that it would furnish here—and the number of this class is rapidly increasing—but those who are obliged to earn from year to year all that they spend, cannot avail themselves of such advantages.

Is it not plain that the tariff system is not, and cannot be of any advantage to the great agricultural wealth-producing industries of the country? Is it not plain that these industries are obliged to bear the greatest proportion in the expenses of the government, in the duties which are imposed upon commodities received from abroad, in exchange for what we sell abroad? Do not the producers of these commodities bear the burden either in higher prices for what they buy, or lower prices for what they sell?

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Senator Boutwell has introduced into Congress a bill proposing to give a bounty of \$8 per ton on American ships for foreign trade. Ships pay only when they can obtain fair freighting home as well as fair freighting out. They cannot get fair freighting home, because we will not permit their freight to be landed without extorting heavy fines, called duties, which amount, for instance, on pig iron to \$8 per ton, on bar iron to \$20 per ton, on bolts and boiler plates to \$30 per ton. One writer says: "The steamship I sailed in last year to England took to that country 1,500 tons of factory cheese from New York, which was admitted duty free; the same vessel could not bring back any Manchester goods without paying an import tariff of thirty-five cents on every dollar's worth." A generation ago, before the tariff evil grew to its present enormity, American ships and American sailors were the best in the world, and always had freight if there was any to be had; now they are swept from the sea, and Senator Boutwell offers to take \$8 a ton out of the people's pockets to bring them back. They are not to be brought back by any pickpocket bounty; all they want is fair play, and when, by abolishing the tariff, we give the American merchant and the American sailor fair chance, there will be no more complaints that the American flag, a century old, is no more to be seen on the seas. It is a very simple matter, Mr. Boutwell.

There is a good old story about the bundle of faggots which we commend to the notice of economic reformers throughout the country. "In union there is strength;" two men together have often more force than three apart, and a dozen together more than two dozen apart. Wherever, therefore, there are two or three citizens who believe it a patriotic duty to awaken public attention to economic reform, let them come together at various times to talk over these questions. Their numbers are sure to grow, and by and by they will find they are leading public opinion without knowing it. But don't, good friends, *don't* waste time and force in getting up constitutions and by-laws. No *form* of organization, or only the simplest possible form, is needed for a long while. Mr. Hale says that when Swiss scientists get together to discuss the *Tellia Guilielmensis* they can go right to work at their discussion, but Americans who come to talk over the *Shermania Rogeriana* must waste the first day in pottering over a constitution. Just get together, draw out each other's opinions by papers and talks, find out and get in sympathizers or inquirers, sow the good seed by distributing publications which the Alliance is glad to furnish, and a great deal of good is done at little cost. It is an important work of the Alliance to put those of like views in the same place into communication with each other, and for this purpose we are glad to have the names of all co-thinkers with us.

The reciprocity treaty last proposed between the United States and Canada having failed of confirmation, Gen. Ward has proposed in the House that commissioners be appointed on both sides to ascertain on what basis a treaty can be arranged. His own views are in favor of a Customs Union like the *Zollverein* of the old German States, whose principles are "a uniform tariff between the states which are parties to it, the entire abolition of all duties on the admission of the products of any one of them into another, and an unrestricted freedom of imports, exports and transit among the states which are members of it," with equitable division of the revenue collected. This is, as Prof. Sumner has pointed out, in the direction of the American system, only we would include the world at large. American manufacturers and agriculturists want the whole world for their market, but we can't sell our goods without buying others.

An amendment to the Constitution has been introduced into the house by a Texas representative providing that direct taxes shall be levied upon the States and the District of Columbia in proportion to the amount of property they contain instead of in the ratio of their population to that of the whole Union, leaving the collections to be made by the State machinery, except that the government may itself collect should any State fail to do so. It is expected that this will be strongly favored by the South, since emancipation has increased the proportion of its taxable population without increasing its ability to pay taxes. This is an important question, although the method of direct taxation is less important at present than the abolition of the tariff enormity.

Livingston county, Illinois, lays good claim to be the banner free trade county of the West. They have their a County Free Trade Alliance, with headquarters at Pontiac, where is published the *Pontiac Free Trader*, edited by E. M. Johnson. Following is the list of officers:

President, A. E. HARDING, Mayor of Pontiac.

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This club is likely to do much for the cause, and its example should not be neglected.

Hon. David A. Wells has written a story, with the aim of following Bastiat's method of popularizing true economic principles. He calls it "Robinson Crusoe's Money," and in it describes how that famous publicist managed the finance question at Juan Fernandez. Thomas Nast is illustrating the story, which will be published by Harper & Bros., partially in time for notice in our next issue.

OUR BOOK TABLE.

Frederic Bastiat, a Frenchman, had in peculiar degree that peculiarly French gift of making the most abstruse and complex subjects lucid, simple and entertaining. No later writer has surpassed his clear illustration and illuminating wit, and there are no books in the whole range of economic literature better adapted to impress the popular mind with the practical bearing of economic principles. We have before us three books by or founded on him, published by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons. The first is his "Sophisms of Protection," printed from the plates made by the American Free Trade League of other days, and the declarations of the famous old "blue poster," an appendix to it. This is the edition edited by Mr. Horace White, long editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, and includes an American preface by that clear writer, both series of the "Sophisms" and the essays on "Spoliation and Law" and "Capital and Interest." As Mr. White says: There is scarcely an argument current among the protectionists of the United States that was not current in France at the time Bastiat wrote the *Sophismes Economiques*. Nor was there one current in his time that is not performing its bad office among us. Hence his demonstrations of their absurdity and falsity are equally applicable to our time and country as to his. They may have even greater force among us if they thoroughly dispel the notion that protection is an "American system." Surely they cannot do less than this. This bright book, in which Mr. Bastiat "not only enlivens a dull subject with his wit, but also reduces the propositions of the Protectionists to absurdities," should be read by every man who has awakened to the importance of these subjects, and it is published by the Putnams, at the very low price of \$1.00, since it is a 12mo of 400 pages.

Bastiat's "Essays on Political Economy" is a smaller volume, handy for the pocket. This contains the lucid illustrations of "Capital and Interest," informing the papers on "That which is sure, and that which is not sure," and others on "Government," "What is money?" and "The Law." Their general plan is to illustrate leading principles by every-day circumstances, where leanings are shown in familiar and witty talks.

The third book, "What is Free Trade?" is an American adaptation of the first part of the "Sophisms." The American editor says, in his introduction: "Years ago I could not rid my mind of the notion that free Trade meant some cunning policy of British statesmen, designed to subject the world to British interests. Coming across Bastiat's *Sophismes Economiques* I learned to my surprise that there were Frenchmen also who advocated free trade, and deplored the mischiefs of the protective policy. This made me examine the subject, and think a good deal upon it, and the result of this thought was the unaltered conviction I now hold—a conviction that harmonizes with every noble belief that our race

entertains ; with civil and religious freedom for all, regardless of race or color ; with the harmony of God's works ; with peace and good will to all mankind. That conviction is this : that to make taxation the incident of protection to special interests, and those engaged in them, is robbery to the rest of the community, and subversive of national morality and national prosperity.

I espouse free trade because it is just, it is unselfish, it is profitable."

To bring Bastiat home to the American reader, he has substituted American terms, industries and illustrations for the French, and thus made the exposure of the sophisms of prohibition more effective.

We have only to say to those who do not already know him : Read Bastiat ! He will prove to you, in the happiest way, that free trade is not only not a British system in its origin, but a world-wide truth, consonant with true history, progress and prosperity.

FREE TRADE IN NEW ENGLAND.

The Boston Free Trade Club has put forth the following creed and platform :

First.—We believe that no nation or people ever found their way to great and abiding prosperity through a system of continued and exorbitant taxation.

Second.—We believe that that government which interferes the least with the people and their pursuits, and which takes in the way of taxes the smallest amount consistent with its legitimate requirements, is the one that governs best.

Third.—We believe that the highest right of property is the right to freely exchange it for other property, and that any system of law which denies or restricts this right for the purpose of subserving private or class interests re-affirms the principle of slavery.

Fourth.—We believe that a man who confesses that he can't get an honest living by his own exertions, and therefore calls upon the community to tax themselves to help support him, is a pauper in every sense of the word, and that the time has come to stop talking about pauper labor abroad, and see if we cannot get along without pauper labor at home.

Fifth.—We believe that the system of protection as now taught and carried out in the United States is second only in villainy to the system of American slavery as it existed prior to the Rebellion ; and so believing, we pledge ourselves as a club, in the interest of abundance, human com-

fort and happiness, and in opposition to restriction, scarcity, poverty and discomfort, to do all in our power to advance the recognition and national adoption of the principles of free trade.

The organization of the club will be completed this month. Meanwhile papers on the subject of free trade are in preparation by eminent writers, one of which it is intended to have read at each meeting of the club.

GLEANINGS FROM THE PRESS.

The new year is not only the first year of a new century in our history, but in some important respects it is the first year of a new era in our national life as well. The most difficult of our first century's problems has been fully wrought out. There are other problems scarcely less important, although greatly less vexatious and dangerous than that of human slavery, which are still present with us at the end of the old and the beginning of the new century ; but if these are not yet fully wrought out, their solution has been at least hopefully begun.

There is reason to believe that as a people we are beginning to learn wisdom and are nearly ready to do justice in the matter of freedom of trade. Our laws still tax the many for the good of the few. Our statute book still forbids us to buy where we can buy cheapest. We maintain a great army of officeholders still, whose sole duty it is to make the waters of commerce flow up hill. We are yet in the fogs of a false philosophy, but there are rifts in the clouds, and we sadly mistake the signs of the times if the people who have broken the bonds of the negro do not break their own before the new century shall be far advanced. The one slavery outlives the other only because its evils are less plainly visible. The work of the old century has been well and worthily done ; it is for us who honor it to see that the tasks of the new one shall be accomplished as faithfully.—N. Y. *Evening Post*.

Every poor sewing woman in the United States is obliged to make about ten shirts a year to pay the tariff swindle on spool thread—a contrivance for keeping a tax on spool thread and spinners' yarn which profited the United States Treasury \$100,000 in 1874 in order that many times as much money might go to the pockets of a few manufacturers. But though the people at large are plundered and though the poor women are kept

“ Sewing at once with a double thread
A shroud as well as a shirt,”

the Protectionism journals tell us, like Toots, “it's of no consequence,”
—New York *World*.

The *Tribune* says, in reference to the recent standing figures as to taxation: "The plain English of it is that we pay for our government nearly fifty per cent. more than our entire savings. Think how many years this process has been going on, and say whether it is wonderful that political rottenness and financial insolvency should prevail through the whole length and breadth of the United States."

The tariff on copper brought to the United States Treasury in 1874 only \$32,127. To a few copper producers, that swindle on the statute book brought \$2,500,000. Both sums came out of the pockets of the American people. The small sum went to the tax-office. The large sum went to the tills of a few rich copper-miners.—*New York World*.

Speaking of the duty on tea and coffee, the *N. Y. Mercantile Journal* says: "Consumers are told that the duty restored will make no difference in the price to them, but this neither they nor their fathers found to agree with experience. They very naturally ask who *will* pay the tax? Who have heretofore paid it, whether it was 6c. or \$1 a pound? If there is no other or better way to support the government, say so; but do not ask us to believe that story."

Fourteen years' trial of protective duties that amount to prohibition have resulted in a general glorification over the passing fact that we are able to sell limited consignments of our manufactured goods in a foreign market with which we began by professing that we wanted nothing to do. No further comment seems to be needed on a system which so completely confutes in practice its own basis theory. The fact is apparent that high protective duties, having had the best chance they ever had in the world, have lamentably failed.—*Boston Post*.

Friendly relations have been established between the German "Political-Economic Congress" and the "Social Politics Association" (*Ve-rein für Socialpolitik*). Henceforward each of these associations will only every second year hold a congress, to which the members of the other association will be invited. Our readers are aware that the first-named association was founded by the late Mr. Prince Smith and other eminent free-traders in Germany; the second by the so-called *Kathedersocialisten*, upon whom that unfortunate nickname brought suspicions of protectionism and socialism entirely without foundation, as the arrangements we speak of sufficiently prove.—*London Academy*.

MONTHLY PROCEEDINGS.

The second monthly public meeting of the International Free Trade Alliance was held at the rooms, No. 43 Washington Square, on Monday evening, December 20th, and was well attended.

The proceedings were begun by a brief address from the President, Mr. HARRISON, followed by a statement from the Secretary, giving a summary of matters of interest in the work of the Alliance which had transpired since the meeting in November, submitting extracts from letters, and closing with some remarks in support of his conviction that the instincts of the people are in advance of government, and are kept in bondage by legislation.

Addresses were made in prompt succession by Messrs. Josiah Rich, William Wood, Isaac Dayton, James E. Crane and R. R. Bowker, all of which were listened to with deep interest and were warmly applauded. After which, the meeting adjourned until January.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT.

William Lloyd Garrison once remarked—"Free trade is the best protection to American industry." That sentiment is a truism which enters into the faith and principles of those of us who belong to this organization. When the people of this country shall adopt the motto of Mr. Garrison, I believe that the tariff system, which has so long overshadowed our industries, will be entirely removed, and the people will have recovered the birthright which has so long been taken from them—individual and commercial liberty.

To those present who may not fully understand the objects of this Association, we will say that we are in favor of absolute free trade, and one of the purposes of this meeting is to discuss the principles which we advocate.

Our Secretary will read extracts from letters received since the meeting held in November, accompanied with such remarks as may bear upon the work of the Alliance.

REMARKS OF THE SECRETARY.

The SECRETARY presented to the meeting letters recently received (and severally acknowledged on another page), from which he read the following extracts:

Mr. Wm. Cullen Bryant, writes to the meeting held in November: "I cannot be present at the Free Trade Meeting on Monday evening, but I am glad to witness any movement which keeps the great question of revenue reform in the public sight.

“One of the worst results of a blind and ignorant selfishness is that system of restraint upon trade, and through trade upon industry which bears the name of the protective system ; I rejoice at every assault that is made upon it, and feel confident of its ultimate abrogation.”

Dr. W. A. Hammond, also referring to the November meeting, says: “I tried my best to be with you this evening, but at the last moment I am obliged to give up the expectation.

“So far as I understand the objects of your Alliance, I am with you entirely, and I only wish you could persuade the people of the United States to go as far towards a correct view of the revenue question, as you have gone.”

Another of our correspondents writes:

“I read with much interest your able arguments for the doing away with the customs abomination altogether, and trust they will be widely promulgated, for they cannot fail to do good. I wish for the Alliance a large measure of success.”

Another from Arrowsmith, Ill.:

“The theory of free trade is undoubtedly correct, but there are two objections to its immediate application. One is, that the government bondholders would be entirely freed from contributing anything to the support of government, and the other is, the imperfection of many of our state revenue laws, through which the Federal revenues would have to be collected. Yet we would most cordially endorse free trade, if the objections I speak of could be removed. I would hail such a consummation as almost the dawn of a government millennium. I hope that the power of the protectionists may be speedily and forever broken.”

Another from Fort Edward, N. Y., writes:

“I esteem it a violation of the laws of nature and nature's God that men should (unless forfeited by crime) be restrained in the least in their intercourse with their fellow-man *anywhere* in the way of trade. It is folly to talk of a “revenue tariff”—who can tell where a revenue tariff begins and a protective tariff ends? I am aware that our numbers are few, but as “a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump,” I am not discouraged. The arguments in favor of “*absolute free trade*” cannot be gainsayed or entangled with sophistry; even high protectionists will sometimes inadvertently admit them, causing an embarrassment in themselves that is amusing, laughable and sometimes pitiable. There is another subject which I think it would be well to incorporate with free trade principles,

that is, government entering into business which properly belongs to the people. Our government is instituted for the protection of our natural, social and political rights, and not for entering into competition in business affairs. The union of Trade and State is as disastrous and odious as "Church and State;" the principle is wrong, and therefore the practice cannot be right. We can endure the financial part of it, perhaps, but the demoralization is absolutely frightful, and the disgraceful scramble for place is to the last degree sickening."

A writer from Boston says :

"The strongest argument to my mind in favor of a direct, and against import and excise taxes, even if simply revenue in character (saying nothing of the abomination of a protective tariff), is the extent of patronage at the bestowal of government, out of which grow such extravagant expenditure, and such a mass of swindling and corruption."

Another from Chicago says :

"My sympathies are with the free trade movement, heart and soul, and I would be glad to be one of a number who would inaugurate a movement here under the control of one common management."

Another from Chicago says :

"Mr. M. and I, with one or two others, have the formation of a free trade organization in constant view. You will hear from us. We are both *absolute* Free Traders."

Another from Chicago says :

"I fully agree with your Alliance that absolute free trade is the true doctrine, and that we and the civilized world are bound to come to ere long, as I hope and believe; not simply because it is right, but because it will be the best for our people and our country. Our high protective tariff, in my candid opinion, is, more than anything else, the cause of the stagnation in business of all kinds in this country."

Another from Chicago :

"I am satisfied that our protective tariff is the bottom cause of our present hard times, and that we can never have prosperous and "flush" times until we get rid of all protection, *incidental* or otherwise. I feel very earnest in this matter, but am not *quite* ready to say *absolute* free trade, but between it and a protective tariff the former is to be preferred."

Another from Monroe, Wis., says :

"I desire to have my name placed among those who feel a profound interest in the subject of free trade, and I shall be glad to contribute in

any way I can to the cause of honest and equitable taxation, and to the final breaking down of legalized robbery in this country. I hope your Alliance will find that there is a plenty of free trade sentiment in the country, and the only thing to secure its triumph in legislation is to infuse intenser life and activity into such sentiment, and to give it such organized form as will enable it to find adequate expression."

A writer from Grafton, W. Va., says:

"In the numerous books, pamphlets and editorials on the subject of free trade, which it has been my good fortune to read, I have never had it so lucidly presented as in your pamphlet—"Our Revenue System, &c." I fully approve the principles therein, and am willing to aid in disseminating them. It has been my experience that works on the subject are clothed in such language and filled with such abstruse reasoning as to make them rather suited to the student in his closet, than for the active voter on his journey to the polls. The ignorance on the subject of free trade in this community is dense. I heard a member of the Legislature declare that the people were not taxed directly or indirectly to support the national government. There is a wide field for the reformers.

Another writer from Ithaca, N. Y.:

"Cannot something effective be done for "free trade," at the Centennial next year, in spite of the reluctance of its managers to grant the desired means? The proposition made by English merchants last spring to place their goods on exhibition at Philadelphia, marked so as to show the cost of production, the price at home, the cost of transportation here, the duty levied by our laws and the selling prices here with and without that duty, was discussed in the newspapers for a time and then dropped. If this matter could be taken in hand and carried through, it would certainly achieve more than years of discussion. Tables, giving all this information, could easily be made and published in form for distribution on the grounds, and every man who visits the Exposition would see for himself what good there is in free trade. I desire most sincerely that something may be done next year to rid ourselves of this burden of protection forever."

The Secretary then added: It is to us a very significant fact, that while the question of free trade, in the form of a revenue tariff, has been claimed as a cardinal principle by many newspapers for years past, and is still earnestly advocated, yet whenever allusion has been made by such papers to our organization, as one of "absolute free traders" or "advanced free traders," it has been followed by a stream of letters from all parts of the country asking for information regarding our work, and bringing additional volunteers to aid us in spreading more widely the prin-

ciples we advocate. We are constrained to believe from this indication that there are multitudes in the country who only need to be informed in regard to our principles, to arouse them to enthusiastic co-operation with us in securing the benefits of industrial and commercial freedom.

We think it is very clear that this country is hindered in its prosperity by legislative bondage, more than by all other obstacles. The industry of the country is actively engaged in *producing* commodities—grain, provisions, cotton, lumber, tobacco, metals—the surplus of which, by commercial exchange, becomes our wealth. The business energy of the country is earnestly employed in *exchanging* or finding a market for these commodities in any part of the world open to them. The incessant effort of the country is directed towards removing obstacles and securing the best *facilities* for exchanging or marketing these productions of our industry. The science and mechanic art of the country are constantly devising methods for improving and increasing facilities, whereby the advantages of producing and exchanging—the essential factors in creating wealth—can be developed and utilized to the fullest extent.

The Tariff Laws of the country are the barriers which prevent the people from securing the full advantages that these elements are striving to obtain. There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that the natural impulses of the people are far in advance of the government, and were it not for legislative obstacles, the growth and development of the country would be far more rapid and less liable to commercial fluctuations and embarrassments, produced as they are in no small degree, by the inevitable conflict between the natural instinct and interest of the country, and the restraints imposed by legal enactments in the interest of special classes.

REMARKS OF MR. RICH.

Mr. Rich, on being called upon, said: As the result of patient reflection and careful investigation, during more than forty years of thought, study and observation, devoted to the subject, I feel prepared to sustain the following fourteen propositions:

FIRST.—All protective tariffs are violations of the Constitution of the United States.

SECOND.—They create and keep alive international hatred, and they also engender and perpetuate jealousies and animosities between the different sections of our own country.

THIRD.—They tend to impoverish the whole country, by wasting labor, shutting the markets of the world against our production, and encouraging habits of extravagance among our people.

FOURTH.—They are a real detriment to most of the manufacturing interests which they aim to benefit.

FIFTH.—They are rapidly destroying our commerce, driving our flag from the ocean, and transferring our mercantile marine, and commercial enterprise into the hands of foreigners.

SIXTH.—They are maintained by dishonest means, and exert a corrupting influence in our legislation, and in the administration of our laws.

SEVENTH.—The revenue which the government derives from their operation, constitutes a very small portion of the taxation which they impose upon the people.

EIGHTH.—All the horrors of our late civil war; all the untold disasters which have resulted from that conflict, our great financial calamities and the almost total stagnation of our business, are fairly chargeable to the insane and suicidal policy which is falsely called protective.

NINTH.—The exaction of duties upon imports or exports is the most unequal, expensive, corrupting and demoralizing mode of taxing that has ever been devised.

TENTH.—The effect of import duties, upon all our industrial interests, is precisely the same as would result from export duties.

ELEVENTH.—Import duties burden some sections of our country more than they do others, inevitably; but the protective policy greatly aggravates that difficulty, and, if persevered in, must ultimately eventuate in its dismemberment.

TWELFTH.—The abandonment of tariff laws, as a means of raising revenue, would emancipate commerce from its fetters; open the markets of the world for our surplus productions, the supply of which would create a demand for labor, that would secure abundant employment and ample remuneration to all who are able and willing to work, and restore to our country all the advantages which it is entitled to derive from its isolated position, extent of territory, fertile soil, invigorating climate; its industrious, intelligent and enterprising population, and its boundless agricultural, mineral and manufacturing resources; all which should and would, if trade were free, insure us against any possible stagnation of business, arising from what is called over-production.

THIRTEENTH.—Our country never can be permanently as prosperous as its youth and vigor entitle it to be, but will always be subject to cramps, spasms, depressions and all other ills that are incidental to premature age and decrepitude, while commerce continues to be bound in legislative fetters, and our interchanges with foreign lands are restricted by oppressive and complicated laws.

FOURTEENTH.—Our protective policy effectively protects foreign manufacturers against American competition in foreign lands, by making the cost of our production so high that they cannot be profitably exported, and by excluding from our markets many foreign productions that might be advantageously exchanged for our manufactured goods.

Time, of course, will not admit of an elucidation of these propositions, on an occasion like this. I am prepared to undertake the defense of any one of them that may be questioned.

REMARKS OF MR. WOOD.

Well, Mr. President, I came here this evening only as an old Free Trader, not expecting to be called upon to say anything, but simply to listen. Whenever I hear anything said about Free Trade, my heart throbs so that I can hardly sit still. I am delighted to hear the principles which have been enunciated by Mr. Rich this evening, to every one of which I say "Amen:" as I also do to the pamphlet published by the Association, which I think is calculated to do an immense deal of good; and if the people of the United States won't believe this pamphlet, neither will they believe though one rose from the dead. Now, sometimes a fact or two is worth a bushel of arguments. For fifty years past I have been a Free Trader. I first adopted Free Trade convictions under Dr. Thomas Chalmers, at the University of St. Andrews, and since then I have never faltered in my faith. Two years after leaving St. Andrews, I paid my first visit to this country in 1828, having heard a great deal about the American Republic, and being very much in love with that form of government, while at that time the great British manufacturing interest was fettered and bound to the worst system of protection possible to conceive; and when I came out to the United States I expected to find something very different, but instead of that, I found the same deadly system of protection in full operation. "In the course of twelve or twenty years I was told "we shall be able to establish Free Trade; but meanwhile our infant manufacturers need nursing and protection." I went away from this country for fourteen or fifteen years, and when I returned heard exactly the same causes urged for a continuance of protection. And now some forty years after, precisely the same remarks are reiterated in exactly the same way, and our "infant manufacturers" still require caudling.

Between thirty and forty years ago I lived for about twelve years in Liverpool, and one of the sights that we always took strangers to see in Liverpool were the American packet ships.

American vessels, always in those days, had at least twenty-five per cent. higher freights than British vessels. The British vessels and sailors were very inferior to the American vessels and sailors, and at that time, although I was a subject of his majesty, I was always sorry when a British vessel was consigned to my house.

With the American vessels we never had any trouble whatever. The captains knew their business exactly, never claimed more than their due, and, of course, were never asked to take less.

The sailors were well-behaved and the most respectable class of men in the mercantile marine of the whole world.

I took a very active part in the agitation of the subject of Free Trade on the other side of the Atlantic, and fought the battle of Free Trade through Lancashire, in the election of 1844, during the first candidature of Sir Wm. Brown, shoulder to shoulder with Richard Cobden, and was

very nearly present, when the great Free Trade victory was achieved in England, but came out here before it was actually gained. In 1844, just before Polk's election, there was a great agitation here, to reform the tariff, and I had interviews with a good many American statesmen on that subject, among others, with President Polk himself, and I said: "Now, gentlemen, it is different here from what it is in the old country. You, of all the people in the world, ought to be able to raise your revenue by *direct taxation*." "But," said they, "we can't do that, the people *won't stand it*."

Now, when the civil war arose, I would like to know which country in the world ever stood such an amount of *direct taxation* as this very country did? But instead of adhering to the system of *direct taxation*, for raising revenue for the government, we have abandoned it, and are trusting entirely to *indirect* through a tariff upon imports. With regard to our mercantile marine, what has been the effect of protection? Instead of being the world's wonder for the beauty and celerity of its vessels, and the high and trustworthy character of its sailors, our ships are almost swept from the face of the North Atlantic, and captains and sailors have sunk down to the level of the British sailors of forty years ago. When you go down to the Battery on any Saturday afternoon, and see six or seven immense steamers going to Europe, and there is not one of them that flies the American flag; neither are they built here. Our British cousins have abandoned all protection to their shipping, and have opened even their *coasting* trade to foreign bottoms, and what is the result? The British mercantile mariner now occupies the proud position which the American mercantile mariner held forty years ago. The last time that I saw that great apostle of protection—Horace Greeley—was in the spring of 1872, when I happened, as one of the Dock Commissioners of this city, to be making a short excursion around the docks, in order to find proper wharfs for a line of steamships which was going to be established, not by American citizens, but by the Marquis of Bute, who wanted to establish a line of steamers in addition to the other foreign lines, to run from Cardiff to New York. When on board the boat, Horace Greeley, accompanied by General B. F. Butler joined us (and it happened that it was Saturday), and I took the opportunity of saying to Horace Greeley, "Now, Mr. Greeley, you see these steamers going down the bay, not one of them carries the stars and stripes at the masthead. *That* has been the result of your *protection* to American ships, and is *one* of the many collateral effects of this cursed protective system." I have not the least doubt in my own mind that all the revenue necessary to be raised by the government could be raised most easily by direct taxation, and that there would be no difficulty whatever in a proper system of taxation, such as advocated in that pamphlet of Mr. Earle's, in raising quite sufficient to pay the gold interest of the bonds; there would be nothing more difficult in the Federal Government buying gold than in selling it. And I am sure that the

result of this league or association cannot fail to do a great deal of good; and if there be but few people here this evening, don't let us forget that it was just in such an "upper room furnished," about eighteen hundred and forty years ago, that the Christian religion had its first inauguration ceremony, and from such a room as this what, in my opinion, is next in importance to the Christian religion—the great philosophical doctrine of freedom of exchange—will go forth conquering and to conquer, blessing not only the United States, but the whole world.

REMARKS OF MR. CRANE.

The next speaker was Mr. CRANE, who said substantially as follows :

The anecdote of Mr. Wood in his rencontre with Horace Greeley and Gen. Ben. F. Butler, recalls the reminiscence of a conversation which I once held with the latter in the saloon of a Fall River steamboat relative to the tariff. The usual routine of argument had been duly discussed, when I asked the general to excuse me a moment, while I went to my state-room and brought out my overcoat. Holding it up I asked the general what he would have to pay for such an overcoat at his tailors in Boston or Lowell; taking it in his hand and examining its cloth and lining well, he thought he might purchase as good a one as that for \$50, to which I replied, General, I bought that overcoat, as you see it, on the Strand, in London, last season, for exactly fifty shillings, or something less than twelve dollars and a half in American gold, or say fifteen dollars currency. I would respectfully like to have you submit to me, how, of the many bills now before Congress for relief from the oppressive burdens we are carrying as a people, you could frame one, which would in a single clause, bring such prompt and sensible relief as one that would enable the six or eight millions of overcoat wearers' in America to buy fifty dollar overcoats for fifteen. The general made no answer, but excusing himself a moment he went to his state-room, and bringing out in turn his overcoat, without uttering a word, but smiling as the general only knows how to smile, he turned over the lappel of the collar, on which was printed ——, tailleur, No. —— Boulevard des Italiens, Paris. This closed the argument. In this connection, however, I cannot forbear referring to a squib recently current in newspaper literature, where the general is represented as being expostulated with by an intimate friend for not defending himself against the many and sometimes outrageous attacks of his maligners, to which he replied. "Did you ever hear anybody call me a fool?"

Comment is of course unnecessary. He certainly knew *where* to buy overcoats.

It is now nearly twenty years since I listened with great interest to a Thanksgiving sermon preached by Rev. Albert Barnes, in Philadelphia, in which he gave expression to the following sentiment :

"Since the world stood no man ever made a law—nay more—it is impossible for any man or men in whatever capacity to make a law; the

most that any man or men can do is to ascertain what the *law is* relative to any question under discussion, learn its bearings in detail, and conform to them accordingly."

The meed of praise was given without stint to this great and original thinker, while he was yet living, but if he had formulated no other truth than the one just given, his name should have become as grand in the eyes of coming generations as that of Copernicus. Though in a different department of science the discovery is essentially the same. Much to our disgust, Copernicus informed us that instead of our planet being the centre of the universe, it occupied a comparatively humble place in its economy, while he greatly magnified the source of its light and heat.

So with our legislation. The earth goes round the sun, the sun does not go round the earth. Men may legislate as they will, they make no laws; the laws that are, were, and will be, when men, either in their private or legislative capacity, conform to them, misery disappears like mist before the rising sun.

The legislation of men, in the present status of human governments, is, and doubtless must be, the standard of obedience for all those who recognize their authority, nevertheless, as a country, men will receive benefit or suffer ill in exact proportion as natural laws are obeyed or violated.

You cannot legislate water to run up hill, you must use force, and a force exactly equal to the result required. So in the order of government, in the relations of the affairs of men, it must acknowledge the grandeur and the majesty of natural law; every violation of it must be supported by force and its outraged honor sustained by the operation of the inflexible punishment which it metes out to the offender.

Mr. President, if I rightly understand the principles for which we contend, I believe them to be in thorough sympathy and harmony with those grand laws by which God governs the universe, and their aim is the enlightenment of our common country, as to the rewards or penalties which will inevitably attend our conformity to or violation of the same, and it is a source of no ordinary congratulation that we have a platform, that it is as simple as it is strong—grand truths are always simple. We believe the closest analysis will find no discord in the pure note of its silver bell; let its volume fill the land.

This organization, in its present form, has but just commenced to germinate; the response is from so many individuals of intelligence and position, from so many different points throughout the country, cheers our hearts, but were there none, we should not falter, but be buoyed up above all discouragements, by the remembrance of one of Fred. Douglas' noblest sentiments, that "God and I are a majority!"

Mr. President, the objects of this Alliance are very dear to me. I for one would rejoice to see the day when the freedom to dispose of the fruits

of our industry, without let or hindrance, or to enjoy the fruits of other peoples' industry, would be no more questioned than to breathe the air of heaven or drink in its blessed sunlight. It is one thing to advance a theory, however, but sometimes quite another to put it into practice, and I respectfully suggest, it is well worthy the discussion of this Alliance, to ascertain, if possible, the best means to accomplish the ends which we all feel to be so desirable.

Is it better to watch and wait for the growth of a public sentiment grown from the seed, or is it better that we graft our truth with some other truth already recognized by the people, and whose battle is well nigh won.

In every new country such as ours, the champions of unrestricted industry will find their natural allies with those industries which yield the largest return for a given amount of labor performed. They will be found among the tillers of the soil, the delvers of the mine and the builders of our ships, and I submit for your consideration, that whatever plan may be adopted, would it not be wise to specially combine the interests of these three classes of our industries. It was a striking point to my mind, to-night, that so large a proportion of the letters read by our secretary came from those sections more largely represented by these industries than any others. I do not propose to have it allied with either of the great parties of the day as such, nor to be dragged through the muddy pools of the politics of our times, by using its debasing machinery or being used by it. Yet we cannot ignore the fact, that our platform is a declaration of war against class-interests and class-legislation, and we shall only be doing our duty by making use of every available weapon to uphold the right.

REMARKS OF MR. BOWKER.

Mr. R. R. BOWKER spoke of the methods by which economic reform was to be brought about. The politicians were much more willing to admit what you say than to act on it. The free trade movement hoped to reach beyond politicians and to awaken a public sentiment to which they must bow. Undoubtedly Mr. Cobden's plan, that started the great agitation in England which revolutionized the economical policy of that country, is the true method. By persistence and faith in the effects of persistent work, now that this country needs its second revolution, we should imbue its policy with those principles of economics which alone are in harmony with the great principles of government that were laid down for us in our first revolution.

After referring to the organization of the Boston Free Trade Club as evidence of the growth of the movement, he said he should like to add one point to what Mr. Wood had said about the system of "protection" to American industry. The theory of the tariff was to cultivate home manufactures by a heavy import tax against manufactured goods and free admittance of the raw material for manufactures. But what was raw material?

The product of one branch of manufacture was the raw material of another, and thus one industry was protected while another was discriminated against. One of the leading publishers of the country had recently said that by the tariff on paper, binders' boards, book muslin, etc.,—the raw materials of the publishing trade,—the English publisher was actually protected against the American publisher.

The paper industry was experiencing one baleful effect of the tariff system now. During the war, when we needed so much paper, we had, under the heavy tariff, almost doubled the number of paper mills that we had before, and there was great show of prosperity. By and by the war was over, and in several ways the demand fell off. Manufactory after manufactory through the country failed and hundreds of workmen were thrown out of employment. Those who under this boasted protection system were, as they supposed, putting money into their pockets, found themselves the worse off because of their temporary prosperity. Finally, a large share of the paper manufactories in the country were closed, and the workmen who had been trained to that business were thrown out of employment in that business, and forced to look for employment elsewhere, at the most terrible cost to themselves. The market was so cut up by forced competition that manufacturers lost money, and thus in a trade which has been a peculiar champion of protection that evil system has brought about its logical punishment.

LETTERS RECEIVED SINCE THE DECEMBER MEETING.

Mr. David A. Wells, writes :

"THE NEW CENTURY has come to hand. It looks well, reads well and Sumner's article is admirable. I prophesy success."

A writer from Stelton, N. J. :

"Am well pleased to learn of the cheering out-look of your organization. Work ever with the masses, it is in vain to look for reforms from any other source. It will give me great pleasure to advocate your projects."

Another from Norristown, Ark., says :

"Send me a copy of THE NEW CENTURY as soon as possible. Civil Service reform and some other reforms will come with this. I will do my little best to aid the movement."

Another from Fort Scott, Kansas, says :

"I am a radical Free Trader, converted years ago by a thorough study of Say's Political Economy. There is a fine field in the West now for sowing the good seed."

Another from Oshkosh, Wis. :

"I am glad to know that at last the talk is to be right down to the 'bed rock.' I enclose one dollar, and will send other names as soon as I can find time."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The Secretary acknowledges the receipt of the following letters since the meeting in November, for which our friends will please accept thanks. We will endeavor to acknowledge the receipt by mail, but if not, we beg our correspondents to understand that it is because of the large number.

William Cullen Bryant	Roslyn, L. I.
Dr. J. H. Jordan	Chicago, Ills.
A. J. Lamoreux	Ithaca, N. Y.
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A. Gilkinson	Chicago, Ills.
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LETTERS RECEIVED SINCE THE MEETING IN DECEMBER.

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THIS organization has been formed for the purpose of promoting industrial and commercial freedom—absolute freedom in exchanging the productions of industry with all the world.

WE HOLD, That freedom in Trade and Commerce—freedom in exchanging the productions of our agricultural and manufacturing industries with those of other countries—is as necessary to the prosperity of the nation, as freedom in producing is to the individual. That it is a principle essential to our American liberty which cannot be violated without injury and danger to our institutions, and should never be infringed upon by the government except when absolutely and unavoidably necessary.

WE HOLD, That comfort, wealth, civilization, and the welfare of mankind are directly promoted and increased by exchanging the products of labor between individuals, and states, and nations. That farmers, or mechanics, or any other producers do not promote their own welfare by keeping more than they need of anything which they have produced, but by exchanging the surplus in purchasing whatever they desire of things produced by others, wherever they can do so most advantageously to themselves. That as a people, we are not free, in so far as the liberty to make such exchanges—such sales and purchases—is restricted by the arbitrary power of government.

WE HOLD, That the Custom House system of obtaining national revenue, violates the principles of American liberty, fosters international prejudices, is hurtful to republicanism, and hinders the growth of peace and good-will among men. That it interferes with and injures lawful business, which is constantly the subject of sudden and arbitrary changes in the tariff. That it is a formidable obstacle in the way of our national prosperity, and the pursuit of useful and honorable enterprise. That it has for many years been one of the most fruitful causes of sectional irritation and animosity. That it is a wasteful and unjust method of obtaining revenue, in causing the people to pay, in cost of living, an enormously greater amount than ever reaches the treasury. That it is a constant and strong incentive to bribery, corruption and smuggling, which are ruinous to honest merchants. That it affords excuse for employing a very large number of officials, who control political and party machinery, and whose influence prevents the first step in Civil Service Reform.

The efforts of the ALLIANCE will be directed towards obtaining ABSOLUTE FREEDOM IN TRADE AND COMMERCE by abandoning the Custom House revenue system, as soon as it can be done without injury to the best interests of the people; providing for the necessary expenses of government by a just, undisguised, and economical method of TAXATION; and ensuring CIVIL SERVICE REFORM by reducing the multitude of offices now existing, but which will then be no longer necessary.

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Correspondence is earnestly solicited from every one who feels interested in this method of reform. No man is so obscure that he cannot be of some service. A few honest, determined men in each district, whose patriotism is above party relations, can easily secure co-workers, who, with quiet earnestness can educate and influence their neighbors, so as to become a power sufficient to command respect and success.

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JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE
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Agents' Balances and Office Furniture.....	48,800 17	
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		436 811 50
ASSETS, January 1st, 1876,.....		\$5,491,635 53
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Unpaid Losses.....	\$104,992 00	
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The New Century.

BROAD PRINCIPLES WHICH UNDERLIE THE TARIFF CONTROVERSY.

BY PROFESSOR W. G. SUMNER.

(Lecture delivered at the February meeting of the Alliance.)

The world has heard a great deal about liberty for the last century. That period has been marked by great struggles on the part of nations to secure independence, and on the part of classes and individuals to secure freedom from old traditional restraints. The world has struggled towards "freedom" and "liberty" as if these were the first considerations of peace, justice, prosperity and happiness, and the result has been to produce, in the forefront of modern civilization, states whose fundamental principle is to give the freest scope to individual energy and effort.

We in the United States make it our greatest boast that we have accepted this broad principle absolutely, and applied it fearlessly; nevertheless, we, who are met here to-night, are associated to demand more liberty. We have to make war upon a whole series of restraints on exchange. There is no body of our fellow-citizens worth mentioning who deny the right and the expediency of private property. What we have to demand, and what the majority of our fellow-citizens—so far as their will has yet been constitutionally expressed—deny us, is the privilege of using our property as we like, that is, of exchanging it when and where and with whomsoever we will. When we demand this privilege, which belongs to us on the simplest principles of right reason and common sense, we are met by a speculative theory based on artificial assumptions, put forward sometimes on bare considerations of selfish interest, and sometimes with no little parade of abstract philosophizing. We are told, "Oh, no! It is not best for the state that you should do as you like about making your exchanges. The legislature must consider the question, and prescribe for you with whom and for what you shall exchange. If you deal with the designated persons, your countrymen, they will gain, the wealth of the community will increase, and you, as a member of the community, will participate, and be better off in the end than if you had been let alone."

Now, we dispute this theory at every stage. We deny that the state, *i. e.*, the legislature, can make any such provision for us better than we can make for ourselves, and we appeal to experience of everything it tries to do; we deny that it has any business to theorize for us in the premises; we deny that the designated persons will gain—at least, that they will gain as much as they would if they were left to deal with us on

their own footing; we deny that they can gain anything from us, *on account of the law*, but what we lose; we deny that the total gains to one part of society by this process can ever exceed the total losses of another part, *i. e.*, that the process can increase the wealth of the community; we deny, finally, that our share of these hypothetical gains can ever be redistributed to us so as to bring back our first loss. We have never seen money go through such a process, passing through many hands, and come back whole, to say nothing of loss and waste.

Thus the issue is joined. On the one side are broad and simple principles, so elementary that they are mere truisms, and on the other side are special pleas of various kinds set up to befog men's judgment, and prevent them from drawing the inferences which follow inevitably.

Let me suggest to you two or three of the broadest and most commanding principles which really decide this question:

1. We, Americans, have made it the first principle of our society that no man shall obtain by law any advantage in the race of life on account of birth or rank, or any traditional or fictitious privilege of any kind whatsoever, and on the other hand, we have removed, so far as the law can remove, all the hindrances and stumbling blocks which come from circumstances of birth and family. Society gives no aid, but it removes all obstacles of social prejudice and tradition. There is not a man in the country who does not respond with a full heart to the wisdom and truth of this relation of society to the individual. Now, on what principle is this relation based? It is on the belief that society makes the most of its members in that way. Some men have more in them than others. We do not know which is which until they show it; but we believe that the way to let each one come to his best, is for society to set them all on their feet, and then let them run each for himself. We believe that the best powers of the community are brought out in that way.

It does not follow that men so treated never make mistakes, and never ruin themselves. We see them do this every day; but if it were proposed that the state should interfere, few would be led astray by the proposition.

The same principle applies to trade directly and completely. The productive powers of men and communities differ, but whatever they are, more or less, they reach their maximum under liberty. The total of national wealth is greatest where each disposes of his own energy in production and exchange with the least interference. This is not saying that none will make mistakes, or that free trade will eliminate all ills from human life. Free trade will not make the idle enjoy the fruits of industry, nor the thriftless possess the rewards of economy. Poverty, pain, disease, misery will remain as long as idleness and vice remain. Free trade will only act in its own measure and way, to leave men face to face with these things, with a somewhat better chance to conquer them. It is one of the great vices of protection that it makes the industrious

suffer for the idle, and the energetic and enterprising bear the losses of the stupid.

2. If, now, you examine the opposite theory you will find that it assumes that we or our ancestors all made a great mistake in coming to this country and trying to live here. We are told that a tariff is necessary to "make a market" for our farmers, that a tariff is necessary to keep our manufactures from destruction, that navigation laws are necessary to preserve our shipping. Some of the old countries support a population twenty or thirty times as dense as ours with little or nothing of this artificial system. If, then, we are not able to live here without this aid, we must have left a part of the world where life is easier for one where it is harder. This brings me, then,

3. To the great fundamental error of the theory, viz.: That taxation is a productive force. No emigrants go to the desert of Sahara. None would go to New York if it were sand and rocks. If, however, New York is a part of the earth's surface, consisting of arable land fit to produce food for man; if it is intersected by mountains, covered by forests, and containing iron and coal, and if it possesses great rivers and a splendid harbor, then the conditions of supporting human life are fulfilled. It requires only labor and capital to build up there a great and prosperous community. It is plain that some parts of the earth's surface contain more materials for man's use than others, and the fact as to New York will affect the wealth of its inhabitants. It is plain that it makes a difference whether the people are idle or industrious, listless or energetic, sluggish or enterprising. It is plain that it makes a difference how much capital they have, or whether there are enough of them for the best distribution of labor. It is plain that it makes a difference what is the state of the arts and sciences, and what are the facilities of transportation.

The wealth of New York at any given time must depend on the way in which these factors are combined. Now the question arises: How can taxation possibly increase the product? Which one of the factors does it act upon?

Just consider what taxation is. We pay taxes, in the first place, to pay for the necessary organization of society, in order that we may act together, and not at cross purposes like a mob; but if that were all the state had to do taxes would be very small. We must support courts and police, and army and navy. These we need for peace, and justice, and security. But suppose that there were none who had the will to rob, or to swindle, or to cheat, or to do violence, the expenditures under this head would dwindle to nothing. It follows that taxes are the tribute we pay to avarice, and violence, and rapine, and all the other vices which disfigure human nature. Taxes are only those evils translated into money and spread over the community. They are so much taken from the strength of the laborer, or the fertility of the soil, or the benefit of the climate. They are loss and waste to almost their entire extent.

This is the function of government, then, which it is proposed to use to create value, to do what men can do only by applying labor and capital to land. Let us take a case to test it. Let us suppose that no woolen cloth is made in New York, but that a New York farmer, at the end of a certain time, has ten bushels of wheat, of which one bushel will buy a yard of imported cloth. After the exchange then he has nine bushels of wheat and one yard of cloth. If any one could make cloth in New York as easily as he could raise a bushel of wheat, some one would do it as soon as there was unemployed labor and capital, and that would be the end of the matter; but if no one undertakes the business it must be because labor and capital are all employed, or because it takes more labor and capital to produce a yard of cloth than a bushel of wheat. Let us suppose that it would take as much as a bushel and a half of wheat. Now, a protectionist proposes to the state to tax imported cloth one-half bushel of wheat per yard. If his plan is carried out the difficulty of obtaining imported cloth is raised to one bushel and a half of wheat per yard, which is the rate of difficulty at which it can be produced in New York. The protectionist then begins and offers his cloth at a bushel and a half per yard. The farmer who, as before, has produced ten bushels, now buys at the new rate, and after the exchange stands possessed of eight and a half bushels of wheat and one yard of cloth. Whither has the other half bushel gone? It has gone to make up a fund to hire some men to make life in New York harder than God and nature made it. From time to time we are told how much "our industries have increased." So far as their increase is in fact due to this arrangement, it is only a proof how much mischief has been done. This application of taxation does not alter the nature of taxation, it only extends its effects arbitrarily and needlessly, and inflicts upon the people a greater measure than they need otherwise bear of the burden which is due to robbery, injustice, war, famine and the other social ills.

4. Protection is, moreover, hostile to improvements. We are always eager to devise improved methods and to invent machinery to "save labor," but every such improvement which we introduce involves the waste and destruction of a great deal of capital. Old machinery must be discarded, although it is not worn out. This loss is not incurred by anybody willingly; it is enforced by competition. When, therefore, competition is withdrawn or limited the incentive to improvement is lessened or destroyed. This applies especially in manufactures where the international competition is cut off by protective duties. The same principle that protection resists improvement applies even more distinctly to those improvements which are made in transportation. In spite of their theories men rejoice in all the improved means of communication which bring nations nearer together. A new railroad or an improved steamship is regarded as a step gained in civilization. Such improvements are realized in diminished freights and diminished prices of imported goods. No sooner is this realized, however, than "foreign competition" is found to

be worse than ever. An outcry goes up for "more protection," and a new tax is put on to-day to counteract what we rejoiced over yesterday as an immense gain. We spend millions to dredge out our harbors, to remove rocks and cut channels through sandbars, as if it were a gain to have communication inward and outward as free as possible, and as soon as we experience the effects in reduced cost of goods we lay a new tax, like restoring the sandbars, in order to undo our work. Indeed, to build sandbars across our harbors would be a far cheaper means of reaching the same end. Next, we find that the numerous and complicated taxes have made it impossible for us to build ships to sail across the ocean where they must come in competition with foreign ships; so we make navigation acts and forbid the purchase of ships, exclude foreigners from our coasting trade, and finally, propose bounties and subsidies, all of which must come at last out of the products of our labor, in order to try to get ships once more. It is like the man who cut a piece from his coat to mend his trowsers, a piece from his vest to replace the hole in his coat, a piece from his trowsers to restore his vest, and so on over again. Did he ever get a whole suit? He found in a little while that he had only a rag left.

We are told, however, that if we do not do all this we shall be "inundated" with foreign goods. The word is appalling, and carries with it a fallacy which often seems to have great power. On what terms shall we get this flood of good things? Will they be given to us? If so, what can we do better than to stop work and live on this generosity? Why are we, however, selected as the especial objects of this bounty, if bounty it is? Why do not England and France and Belgium and Germany pour out their inundations on Patagonia and Iceland? The answer is plain enough. The goods are not gifts, they are offered for exchange. Nothing can force us to buy or dictate terms of exchange; and the inundation comes to us because we are known to be rich and able, and because we inhabit a continent prolific in some of the chief objects of human desire. It is not the beggar who, when he goes down the street, is "inundated" with wares from the various stores. If it were he would probably stem the tide with joy. It is the rich man only to whom good things are freely offered with a well understood condition; few rich men have ever been heard to complain of it. If, then, the Americans have these good things offered them in exchange and they allow themselves to be worsted in the bargain, they sadly belie their reputation.

These few observations which I have now presented as bearing on this subject are very broad and comprehensive, and very sweeping in their effect. They appeal directly to common sense and right reason. They give us the correct point of view, and dispel some of the fog which has collected from habit and prejudice around this subject. They lead us right up to the doctrine which the United States have put in practice in their own internal trade—absolute freedom of exchange and local or internal taxation. We have proved the practical value of that system here over a continent. I cannot see why the same system would not be

a great gain if extended over Canada, Mexico and the West Indies. I cannot see why it would not be a great gain if all South America were embraced in a confederation exactly like ours as far as this point is concerned, with absolute free trade between the states. I cannot see why all Europe would not gain by similar relations, as far as trade is concerned; and I see no reason why it should not be equally beneficent if extended to the whole civilized globe.

The objections come in the shape of stubborn prejudices and old errors attaching to narrow and special considerations. Some people dread the sweep of a great general principle, however clear and certain and scientific it may be. They dispose of it as a "theory." Well, I am a theorist. I accept the disabilities and demand the advantages of my position; and when I find a great principle founded in an observation of facts and experience, I am not afraid to follow it up to its last corollary. The statesman must do what he can in the face of tradition and prejudice and vested interests, and I presume that it will be long before the public will be so enlightened as to demand to feel every cent that it pays in taxes for the very sake of knowing the amount, but I am clear in regard to the wisdom of such an arrangement.

In the further lectures which I am to give I propose to treat the subject historically, for I believe that the tariff history of the United States shows most clearly some of the worst of the evils of the system, and I think that every one ought to know how this system has grown up and been fastened upon us.

THE "PROTECTION" POLICY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LATE WAR.

BY JOSIAH RICH.

At our meeting in December I read a paper enumerating fourteen propositions in condemnation of the protective policy. Upon one of these I propose to enlarge, explaining how this policy is responsible for the late civil war, with all its dire consequences.

Protection was a feature in our earliest tariff laws, wherein slight discriminating duties were introduced to afford incidental encouragement to those who were engaged in manufacturing. This discrimination became more and more marked with each tariff enactment, as the manufacturing interest increased in power, especially in 1816 and 1824, culminating in 1828 in what was called the "bill of abominations." That act was passed avowedly (as previous ones had been passed, differing only in its greater exactions) for the benefit and protection of domestic manufactures.

It was opposed as an oppressive and unconstitutional measure by:

nearly all the southern representatives in Congress, and its passage created general excitement in all the southern states.

In 1832 the state of South Carolina assumed the sovereign right to declare it void and not binding upon the people of that state, at the same time adopting measures to resist its operation. This act was what was called "nullification," and was passed with the expectation that the other cotton growing states would unite with them in organized resistance. In this, however, they were disappointed, though there were in each southern state a reputable minority of the voters disposed to adopt these measures. The purpose was to put the whole south in an attitude of resistance, and then to propose calling a National Convention, at which they could present their grievances in such form as would put an end to the protective policy, or sever the Union. Their principal opponents at the south were what was then called the Union party, whose opposition to the Nullifiers was founded mainly upon an impression then prevalent that the maintenance of the Union was the most effectual means of preventing the abolishing of slavery. For at this period, even after the repeated increase in tariff duties for protecting the manufacturing industries of the north, the south was yet far from being united in the perpetuation of slavery.

The failure of the Nullifiers to secure co-operation in the south, and the prompt action of President Jackson, sustained as he was by his political opponents in the north, including the most influential protectionists, led to the passage of the Force bill through Congress, which reduced South Carolina to the alternative of either maintaining the struggle alone or abandoning what she deemed her just rights. She was not so insane as to enter upon a conflict under such circumstances. She never abandoned her position, but always maintained that the act of nullification was a justifiable exercise of her reserved rights under the Constitution.

It is a remarkable fact that the slavery question did not enter into the discussion of that day, and was scarcely mentioned in the agitations of the period.

The failure of their movement was attributed by the nullifiers to a lack of unanimity in the south. They had based their action entirely upon opposition to the protective policy, which was justly deemed oppressive; failing to receive co-operation from the Union party who were prevented mainly by fear of possible emancipation.

Meanwhile the elements were changing from the effects of the tariff legislation and agitation. There was a modification of the tariff in its degree of oppressiveness, but not in the principles governing it, and after a short respite under the compromise tariff of 1833, there followed in 1842 a re-enactment of some of the more oppressive and odious features, producing a more compact southern pro-slavery element, willing to cooperate in opposition to the protective policy.

At the same time and for a while previous there had sprung up at the north a small but energetic body of men opposed to the continuance

ment are needed. Without them the infant manufacture droops, and those who might be employed in it seek with success a competency from our cheap and fertile soil." For a man to adduce the facts which are the grandest argument on one side of the question as an argument on the other is not common, and that a man like Fisher Ames could do it is a proof of the depth to which long rooted notions can affect a man's mind. The argument amounts to saying that it is so easy for laborers to get a living in America, that we must make it hard to get a living here in order that work may be done. It states the protectionist position in America, however, with great exactness. The cheap and fertile soil by nature holds out to men of the artisan class a competency in return for moderate and easy labor. In order that they might be forced to work at manufactures, which were, in the nature of things, less remunerative in a new country with boundless fertile soil, it was necessary to curtail by artificial and legal arrangements the profits of agriculture. This is just what the tariff has done from 1789 until this day. We are more familiar with the argument under the form of the comparative rates of wages here and abroad, but it comes back to just what Ames so simply stated. The competition which the protectionist employer has had to contend against here has never been the cheapness of foreign labor; it has been the greater return which his men could get by putting the same labor on the soil. That is the only meaning of the high wages in this country. What makes wages high? Where do they come from? Or why is it that artisans are told that protection makes wages high? How are these things reconcilable? Or how is it that the foreign labor with which we are told that we cannot compete is especially that of England, where wages are higher than anywhere else in Europe? Or why is it that high-priced labor can compete here in agriculture and stand three or four thousand miles of transportation? Wages are high here because men of the wages class can get all the fertile land they can till by going to it; because the capital required is very small, and because the returns are almost pure reward of labor. Hence they will not go into the wages class unless the inducement is equal. It is the great form in which the new country holds out grand opportunities to the man who has nothing but his manual labor to depend upon, and the protective system does, and always has taken away from the farmer, laborer and artisan, the advantages which nature offered him in the new country.

To return to the tariff debate of 1789. The character of all tariff legislation in this country, as a grand grab struggle between interests and sections, was illustrated then.

The South, except Georgia, wanted a high tariff duty on rum, for revenue: the Middle States, in the interest of temperance, the Eastern States, for protection to their rum distilleries. Georgia opposed this tax because she used a great deal of rum, and bought it in the West Indies with her lumber. The Southern and Middle States wanted a tax also on molasses,

tions, in their transmuted form, was to benefit the manufacturers in the northern part of this country.

Can any sane man see any justice in this discrimination? The southern statesmen could not see it, and not seeing it, is there any wonder that the injustice and oppression should lead them into resistance and rebellion? They fought desperately, as men fight who had come to feel that their quarrel was just; and though their cause was tarnished and its justice eclipsed by the pro-slavery element, yet so far as they were engaged in a contest against oppressive and unconstitutional tariff legislation, they are entitled to the approval of right-minded men.

If the slavery and disunion elements had been kept out of the contest, and the whole case submitted to the intellectual and moral perceptions of the people, as their statesmen were capable of presenting it, the monstrous iniquities of the protective system would long since have been purged away without the horrors of war.

Thank God, slavery no longer stands in the way of calm discussion! That dark blot on our escutcheon has been wiped away, and the time is auspicious for the commencement of another contest against that more insidious but not less execrable form of slavery which now has its grip upon the vital interests of the country, and is rapidly filling our almshouses with paupers and our prisons with criminals—That form of slavery which is crushing out our industries and enterprise, and threatening to separate the body politic into the patrician and plebian elements (with all their demoralizing tendencies—as under the old Roman aristocracies)—That form of abject slavery, which claims for government the right, and exercises the power, of determining how the people may be permitted to employ themselves—and by what branch of industry they may be permitted to earn a living—making one-third of the people the wards of the government, depending upon its protection and support; and then exhausting the other two-thirds, by oppressive taxes for their maintenance—a system of slavery which is dignified and disguised under the specious and false pretense of protecting American industry, but which is actively reducing all labor to a condition of beggary!

THE SITUATION IN CANADA.

The close relations between our own country and Canada, and the situation there, are interestingly shown in a letter from a correspondent in Burgoyne, Canada:

* * * "I am greatly pleased with Mr. Wells' pamphlet, but still more with yours, for though an anti-protective tariff is a great blessing, yet the total abolition of customs duties would be an infinitely greater benefit, and this will, no doubt, be in time accomplished, both in the States and Canada.

"We began in Canada, as you did, with a low tariff, but have been gradually increasing it, partly for revenue, partly for protection, and now seem in a fair way to emulate you in our 'Chinese Wall.'

"Manufacturers here are but a small body, but they are well combined, while very few of the farmers pay any attention either to the principles or to the practical effects of protection. In asking for a revision of the duties, the manufacturers have thrown out a bribe to farmers, who are the ruling class, by adding a duty on imported grain to the list of their requirements, and this foolish project is actually being promoted by the leaders of the Granges.

"The principal excuse for protection here is, that the United States markets are closed to Canadians, while Americans make what is called a 'sacrifice market' of Canada, selling their goods (so our Premier tells us in a tone of virtuous indignation) cheaper than they do at home.

"I despair of seeing free trade, or even an anti-protective tariff established here, until that policy is adopted by the United States. As we are imitating you in protection, so we will, when the time comes, imitate you in free trade.

"That you will succeed in your efforts I have no doubt whatever, for the principles and objects of the Alliance are founded on truth and justice, and these will in time prevail."

A friend in Quebec writes: "I thank you very much for your pamphlet, 'Our Revenue System, &c.:' every line of it harmonizes with my long-cherished views on that subject, and is in harmony with the gospel, which breathes freedom and liberty to man, and recognizes no distinction of race or color, of kindred or clime. Methinks that all who candidly read it will find its reasoning cogent and irrefutable.

"Protection is founded on man's innate selfishness, and is always detrimental to the true interests of the people. The energy, skill and pluck of Americans do not need class legislation, and 'tis these qualities, together with the boundless resources of this magnificent continent, which have thus far warded off the great evils to which the system tends. The commerce of Great Britain has greatly increased, and her toiling people have been elevated to far greater comfort, and to large political influence, since the abandonment of protection. May the day of wise and honest government and of the brotherhood of all men soon dawn!"

ANOTHER CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION.

The idea of a free trade centennial exhibition, urged so earnestly by one of our correspondents in the last number, calls forth indorsement from a correspondent in New York, who thinks "that such a plan if carried out would probably convert all the thinking men and

women to whose notice the proposed exhibition might be brought, into free traders." There is very little likelihood that such a plan would be permitted by the managers of the great Exposition; but what is to prevent the I. F. T. A. from instituting such an exhibition in New York? Cannot you obtain some of the "British gold" that is so freely contributed (by the protectionist newspapers) for the furtherance of free trade, to apply to such an exhibition? There will be just as many visitors to New York as to Philadelphia, and if properly advertised, this great missionary movement for the regeneration of the benighted protectionists would attract a great deal more attention than at first glance one might imagine.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

We print in this number the first of four lectures which Prof. W. G. Sumner is delivering before the Alliance, on the second Thursday evening of each month, at its rooms, 43 Washington Square. They will deal with the history of our tariff struggles, and will be found informing and suggestive. We welcome all friends of free trade to these meetings, but still more all enemies. If each Free Trader will bring two Protectionists with him, we shall have just the audience we want for Prof. Sumner. An open discussion follows the lectures, in which those of all views are invited to participate, and during which Prof. Sumner is glad to answer questions. All the lectures will be printed in THE NEW CENTURY.

The new tariff bill it is scarcely necessary to discuss, for there is little present chance of its passage. The "Morrison tariff," so called, is simply an endeavor to modify the present law, which had never heard of common sense, with a slight infusion of that useful article so much suspected by politicians. It is the work of Mr. J. S. Moore ("the Parsee") of the New York Custom House, with the sanction of Mr. David A. Wells; but we do not understand that either endorses it except as an ameliorative measure, an endeavor to make a bad thing "less worse." It simply has fewer abominations in it than the present abomination. But perhaps the longer the latter holds its grip upon the throat of business, the more thorough will be the reaction and relief. By and by the people will wake up the politicians, and then there will be a race in Congress to father the bill nearest absolute free trade. And when we get free trade we shall never want anything else.

How are our "infant industries" getting on? Are any of them grown up yet in these hundred years? There is one we know of that has got strong enough to knock down its nurse several times, and now it has put on its big boots, and is walking out of the country. This is the Ameri-

can Screw Company of Providence, the huge monopoly which has, by virtue of the tariff laid for its benefit, become strong enough to bear every British screw and every screw produced by home competition out of the market, at its own sweet will. Now it has over-produced and glutted the American market, and because *the tariff on its raw material is so high*, it cannot reach foreign markets from American soil, and is removing much of its machinery to Canada, where it can have free trade with Great Britain. This is the latter end of a protected industry to which every American has paid tribute. "Republics are ungrateful;" so, it seems, are protected industries!

If years ago, this industry had relied upon the advantages of American ingenuity and skill, and the iron trade had done likewise, as Prof. Newberry tells us it might easily have done, we should have had no such story to tell. It might have had a steady home and foreign trade, the latter tending to balance such depressions in the home market as the present. Now American watches go abroad, American jewelry manufactures go abroad, and, most astounding of all, notwithstanding the heavy freightage, American stoves are starting abroad. These industries have succeeded, in spite of the tariff, in making their way. Take away the tariff, and we may pit American brains against the world!

The protectionists are claiming, however, that the British lion is cowering in his den, while we are firing iron and cotton manufactures across the Atlantic at him, and this, as they interpret it, because protection has enabled these industries to hold their own against all his roars. Well, take off the duty, then, if they can take care of themselves! We have no desire that the British lion should cower; indeed the American eagle has invited him to come over and shake paws at Philadelphia. But are the protectionists willing to accept the responsibility for the present condition of American mill-products? The truth is we can sell goods of this sort in England just now chiefly because there has been over-production for a depressed home market (largely on account of the stimulation of the tariff); the mills are actually running goods out at a loss, and prices are abnormally low, retail prices in many cases below wholesale. This is not prosperity; we are selling our goods at bankrupt's sale. We *can* compete with England honorably and prosperously, but not by this means.

It should be said, however, that there is a general depression throughout the civilized world at the present time, which can probably be traced back to the great wars of recent years, causing such destruction in both of the chief commercial continents. This destruction was a good thing, by protectionists' theories, and, by protectionists' theories also, should have made all countries but the combatants richer. The facts of the case are that war anywhere is bad everywhere: we were all very busy for a

time replacing the goods destroyed, but of late years all civilization has been feeling practically that it has lost much of its wealth. In Germany the protectionists have been trying to turn the evident distress among iron-makers to the illustration of their theories, but the free traders have alertly shown the real facts of the case, and the German Government has been unflinching in its free trade policy. The protectionists there are apt to admit the free trade creed, and to demand temporary concessions—but Germans have been in the habit of looking a good ways ahead.

The difference between that country and our own in that respect is not gratifying. Even the present bill, unlikely as it is to pass, introduces a fresh element of uncertainty into business. If the agitation were confined to members of Congress there would be but little to criticise, but this is impossible. The agitation and uncertainty reach to a multitude of people, who are directly or indirectly interested in the proposed changes, which, added to the universal stagnation in business, can only result disastrously to many who otherwise might succeed in weathering the financial storm which is sweeping over the country. What can be worse for business men than to be kept in a constant fever of anxiety regarding legislative action upon business matters? The tariff question, is so sure to lift its head during six months of every year, that it is almost impossible to make business arrangements with safety during the other six months.

The proposed alterations by the Morrison bill are for the most a great improvement upon the present tariff; but who has any confidence in the passage of any bill without, at least, being altered? And who has any idea of wherein these alterations shall consist? Besides, even the friends of the bill do not accept it as settling the question for any definite period, and the next year the whole is likely to be changed again, possibly for the worse. How long will the intelligent men of this country tolerate a system for revenue which is agitated every winter, and is made a sort of foot-ball for the politicians of both political parties? A country which needs the whole world for its marketable productions needs, above all things, a uniform and unchanging basis of exchanging, not one subject to the caprices of political majorities in Congress. And this can never be while the Custom House system exists.

The papers have recently found out that national bankruptcy is staring us in the face. What is bankruptcy? In the present, it is the inability to pay one's debts. Prospectively, it is spending each year more than we earn. We have long been told that this nation could never be bankrupt, because its growth was so astounding that it could not spend as much as it was sure to earn. Its surplus earnings would pay any debt. But now, not only have we a national debt to be reckoned by billions, the result of the protective system which compelled the South to fight for sla-

very, but the annual taxes of one sort or another, national, state and local, amounted in 1870 to seven hundred and thirty millions a year, while our annual earnings were calculated at but five hundred millions. These figures are accepted by the best authorities, who agree that the showing must be still more against us to-day. Every man, woman and child in the country therefore pays nearly \$20 per head taxes, and *our governments cost us more than we can earn to pay for them*. What with delusive tariffs, the issue of bonds, and other makeshifts, we are being cheated out of our daily living. There is but one way to meet this issue: make the taxes as direct as possible. Then we shall know what our rulers are spending, and they will not spend more than we can earn.

We are indebted to the *Chicago Tribune* for notices of our organization that have appeared in the columns of that paper. A large portion of letters recently received from the West were prompted by the interest in our work manifested by that influential journal.

MONTHLY PROCEEDINGS.

JANUARY.

The regular public monthly meeting of the Alliance was held at the rooms, No. 43 Washington Square, Mr. Harrison presiding. The secretary stated that he had received about thirty letters, principally from the west, since the meeting in December, from a large portion of which, extracts of a most encouraging character were read.

Addresses were made by Messrs. Josiah Rich, Henry Kemp, James E. Crane and A. Lloyd. The address of Mr. Rich was in demonstration of one of the propositions which he laid before the meeting in December, and is given at length in the present number of the Journal.

FEBRUARY.

Arrangements having been made with Professor W. G. Sumner, of Yale College, for a course of lectures before the Alliance, it was deemed expedient to fix upon the second Thursday evening of the month for the public meetings. This being earlier in the month than the recent meetings had been held, enables us to note the monthly proceedings in this number of the Journal.

The regular monthly public meeting was held at 43 Washington Square, Mr. Harrison presiding.

The Secretary reported that since the meeting in January he had received ninety letters, from correspondents living in more than half the several States of the country, giving information regarding the feeling on the question of free trade. These letters gave all shades of public opinion, but mostly of an encouraging character, as may be seen from extracts given on other pages, to which attention is particularly invited.

The President then introduced Professor Sumner, who addressed the meeting, and whose able address is given at length herein.

After the Professor closed, opportunity was afforded to ask questions about, and to discuss, any of the points which had been referred to. This brought out an interesting and animated discussion, in which part was taken by Messrs. S. A. Wheelwright, President Wood (Board of Education), Professor Dundon (Normal College), Henry Kemp and others, after which the meeting adjourned.

TO FREE TRADE FRIENDS.

The Alliance is engaged in a work of Politico-Economic Reform—Legislative and Administrative. The foremost question, that of Freedom in Trade, is a *political* question, but it is not a *party* question; no party has yet made it a cardinal principle in its platform. It is a question on which every American citizen should carefully inform himself, in order that he may act intelligently and without prejudice. This information can be attained and the cause promoted in the most effective manner, by combined effort in the form of associations or clubs, which may also be active agencies in sowing the seeds and cultivating the growth of pure political principles.

Free Trade—freedom in exchanging commodities, as well as freedom in producing them—underlies, in this country, all the other questions of this character. We, therefore, urge the formation of a "FREE TRADE CLUB" in every town and village in the country. Our organization began with two persons, who for many months were the only active workers. Wherever, therefore, there may be no more than two persons thoroughly in earnest, let them join together to do what they can. Let them communicate with us monthly, informing us of such progress as may have been made. We will send them such publications as we have for distribution.

Every Free Trade Club should at once begin forming a Library; we will do all we can in reciprocal action. It is important that our Journal shall attain a wide circulation, and have as large a number of persons as possible *identified* with its principles. We propose, therefore, to every club, however small, to send the Journal regularly, without pay, for the use of the members, and for every subscriber obtained and one dollar remitted to us, we will return forty per cent. in such books on economic questions as may be designated by the club, at the advertised prices.

OUR BOOK TABLE.

One of the most valuable books in the hands of any one concerned with the tariff question or the history of political economy in this country, is the Government "Special Report on the Customs-Tariff Legislation of the United States," made by Mr. Edward Young, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, in 1871, and brought down to September, 1874—which is truly a blue book of the subject. This gives in the text a *résumé* of all the tariff debates in Congress, from the time when Mr. Madison introduced the apple of discord, two days after its assembling, through the spring of 1872, and a tabulation of the Congressional votes on the tariff bill. Appendix A is a most valuable comparative statement of the tariff rates on each article under each law, from 1789 to 1870, inclusive, compiled by A. W. Angerer. Appendix B is a table showing the value and present duties on all articles, with equivalent rates in specific *ad* and *valorem* duties, compiled by J. S. Moore ("the Parsee"), with explanatory notes. Appendix C shows the value of imports, &c., each year, and the percentage of customs. Appendix D shows the aggregate receipts for each collection district in internal revenue during and after the war. Appendix E shows the total collections from each specific article during these years. Appendix F gives the recent amendatory acts, and a tabular arrangement of the taxes in full. Here,

therefore, are all the facts, arranged in every way in which they may be needed, and too high a value can scarcely be placed on these labors of Mr. Young.

The work of the late Isaac Butts, of Rochester, on "Protection and Free Trade" (G. P. Putnam's Sons), is a careful inquiry whether protective duties can benefit the interests of a country in the aggregate. The method is not statistical, but purely ratiocinative. After taking exception to Bastiat's and Perry's definitions of *value*, as a relative, Mr. Butts asserts that intrinsic *value* is a true entity, approximating to the mean or average cost of all the class of products to which the article belongs. His main proposition then is, that as but a certain quantity of heat can be got out of a certain quantity of carbon, so the system of protection cannot add to the quantity of the necessary elements of value, while the conditions of their co-operation in the production of values is violated by the interference of government. Mr. Butts' discussion of these subjects is forcible and suggestive, and his willingness to debate directly the favorite challenge of the protectionists, is an example of the boldness and candor which should distinguish the arguments of free traders. Appended is a paper read by him before the Rochester Free Trade League in 1851.

 THE BOSTON FREE TRADE CLUB.

The Boston Free Trade Club has organized by the election of the following officers:
 President—William Downie (167 Devonshire street).

Vice-President—Rev. James Freeman Clarke.

Secretary—Samuel F. Powers (Equitable Building, Room 31).

Treasurer—George F. Roberts (203 Congress street).

Executive Committee—James M. Caller, John J. Henry, Joseph N. Baxter.

Advisory Committee—Hon. David A.

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Meetings will be held on the second Thursday evening of each month, and at the April meeting Prof. Perry will deliver a lecture. The club also proposes to offer prizes for the best essays upon "The Simplicity of Free Trade and the Intricacies of a Protective Tariff," for which some students of Harvard have expressed a desire to compete.

GLEANINGS FROM THE PRESS.

Supposing, to raise its \$20,000,000, the Government puts a duty upon cloth, blankets and hats. A certain amount of goods are imported, the Government lays its duty of 25, 35 or 50 per cent. upon them by which their price is greatly enhanced. Still they are attractive, the people buy them and the Government gets its \$20,000,000. This would all be very well if it stopped here, and no one who did not buy those goods was obliged to pay any part of the tax; but this matter of indirect taxation does not leave it optional with those who do not want any of these imported goods to escape the tax by refraining from purchasing. The immediate and natural effect of this Custom House arrangement is to inflate unnaturally the price to the consumer of every piece of cloth, of every blanket, and of every hat that is made by everybody in every part of the country. And thus, in order to get \$20,000,000 into the Government Treasury, the people are obliged to pay it, not only in the enhanced price of the goods that are actually imported, but hundreds of millions of dollars besides in inflated prices upon goods that are not imported, and not a dollar of which ever goes to the support of the Government, for the inflated price which the Government makes at the Custom House inflates the price unreasonably and unnaturally of all similar goods all over the country.—*Boston Herald, Feb. 4th.*

I do not anticipate a long campaign in behalf of Free Trade in this country. Nowhere else in the world do the dogmas of Protection come into such flagrant contradiction with the accepted doctrines of the people and with common sense. I expect that those dogmas will simply melt away under the effect of an enlightenment and right reason. People must come to see that the idea that legislative action is necessary to enable a sparse population to produce wealth in a new country is as absurd as to suppose that we need a law to make hungry men go to dinner when the bell rings.—*Prof. W. G. Sumner to Boston Free Trade Club.*

Now that we are exporting cotton prints to England, perhaps some protectionist will

explain how it is that we are compelled to pay an extra price for home-made cotton prints to prevent the unscrupulous English from selling us calicoes made by English hands. The only respectable reason ever assigned for a protective tariff was that without it other countries could undersell us in our own markets.—*Christian Union, Feb. 3d.*

A report from the Secretary of the Treasury to the House of Representatives shows that in fifty-six collection districts the customs expenses in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875, were greater than the customs receipts. The whole amount collected in these districts was \$379,664.39; the whole amount expended was \$463,568.79; and the total excess of expenditures over receipts was \$183,904.40. In thirty-four of these cases the post is within one hundred miles of a self-sustaining post; in twenty cases within fifty miles; in eight cases within twenty-five miles, Marblehead, Mass., is four miles from Salem by railroad, and its receipts were \$1,770.30, while the expenses were \$1,983.82.—*Evening Post, Feb. 18th.*

Some years since, I favored the doctrine of protection; but subsequent reflection and study have satisfied me of my error. In my present view, the doctrine is as unsound in principle as it must necessarily be injurious in practice. To tax a whole people, not for the purpose of raising revenue for the support of their government, but to enrich a few by enabling them to engage in a business which cannot support itself without injuring others, would seem to be so obviously wrong as to need no reasoning to demonstrate it. If to tax for their benefit is right and expedient, then it would be equally right and expedient to assist them by pecuniary bounties. And yet I suppose that no one would contend that to do this last would be proper, or even constitutional. The theory itself is at war with the enlightened civilization of the day, and cannot fail soon to become obsolete. Free trade is as superior to it as free government is to despotism.—*Reverdy Johnson, to Boston Free Trade Club.*

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE.

The many recent letters from the corresponding members of the Alliance and outside correspondents, in all parts of the country, give a most informing and suggestive view of the relations of free trade, showing here apathy, there complications with political questions, but generally a wide-spread belief or an eager inquiry. We regret that we cannot give space to more than a third of the extracts we had prepared, but we print herewith parts of letters from eighteen out of twenty-four states from which reports have been received, which show how generally diffused is the interest in free trade.

FROM BROCKTON, MASS.

* * * There probably is no subject on which the people of this vicinity (and I might say with equal truth of all New England) are so ignorant as upon this subject of free trade. Wherever I have been able to use the pamphlet you sent me I have found my friends surprised that so much could be said in favor of this subject. I believe that the people of New England only need to have the facts properly placed before them to make them the most ardent free-traders in the country, for in that depends the only hope for this section of the country.

FROM ASHFORD, CONN.

* * * There is some waking up of interest of the subject of free trade and revenue reform. With an increase of light on the subject, the friends of the reform would multiply, I have no doubt.

FROM NEW YORK.

* * * The object of your Alliance is a subject of great interest to me, nor do I think we have ever seen a time more opportune than the present to develop and impress this idea on the minds of the people.

My residence in foreign countries (more especially the Spanish-American republics), with which, for self evident reasons, we

should be more closely allied commercially than other nations, and the nature of the business in which I was engaged, representing a large number of American manufacturers, have led me to ask myself why it is that we, with all our vaunted and actual prowess, appear to be such pigmies, commercially speaking, in the very fields where we should be giants. Why is it that England, France and Germany are supplying the wants of countries which almost seem to stand to us in the relation of children, a brood of republics brought into being under the wings of our eagle? Why is it? Must it always be so? And if not, how long must we wait before we can feed our own young? Now, I make bold to assert that free trade is the remedy. Free trade stands side by side with the great figure of liberty, her natural consort.

We have had lessons in the panics of 1837 and 1857, but no such a lesson as that of 1873 to date. But with the new era which is dawning; with the revival of business, however slow and gradual; when the machinery of trade and commerce, which for two years has been laying up for repairs, or running at a slow speed, starts up again, and the country is once more in a sound and healthy condition, the doctrines of free trade will find more ready listeners. It is the most potent political issue of the day.

FROM BROOKLYN, N. Y.

* * * The interest in the question of free trade is gradually increasing, but one cannot expect a rapid or sudden radical change in the views that have been inherited for many generations. But it must come; if slowly, yet surely.

FROM PONTIAC, ILL.

* * * The feeling in this county is decidedly in favor of absolute, free and unlimited trade wherever and with whoever the purchaser chooses to deal, and this feeling is not the growth of a lawless, revolutionary element that manifests itself to-day and then sinks down to-morrow when some more popular measure may come up

for consideration, but good, hard, healthy thought has brought it about. And if it is any satisfaction to the officers and members of the "International Free Trade Alliance," they can enjoy this much, in knowing that to them belong the honor and credit of being the means by which this very desirable end has been reached.

This county has a population of about 40,000 inhabitants, and among all our voters, I think, I can safely say that twenty-four out of twenty-five that you approach on the subject, if they have thought upon the matter at all, which the most of them have, declare themselves in favor of free trade.

LORAIN, ILLS.

* * * We have in this county 1,792 Grangers, some 800 members of Farmers' Clubs, all of whom have enlisted in the reform movement, "Anti-Monopoly," and having cast off fealty to the old political parties, are ripe for enlightenment on the issues of "Free trade and direct taxation." The indications now are, that in the coming Presidential contest, old party issues will be forced to yield to the great requirements of the industrial interests of the toiling millions. One century ago fifty-six men met in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and sent forth a Declaration that shook the whole civilized world from centre to circumference. Some forty years ago sixteen men met in the woods of Connecticut, and in the midst of a shrieking mob, passed resolutions in favor of the universal brotherhood of man; and from that handful of men, seed was borne on the wild wind and strewn like thistle-seed with their down, and finding congenial soil in every locality, from the ice-bound regions of the north to the orange and pomegranate groves of the sunny South. If the fifty-six and the sixteen have accomplished so much, may we not hope for results equal from the noble efforts of the "Free Trade Alliance."

FROM WINCHESTER, IND.

* * * We are in full sympathy with you in the free trade and civil service reform movement, and there are many others in this county who feel and think as we do on these questions. By all means send us

the "New Century." We will take from it for the columns of the *Winchester Herald* such articles as will tend to throw light on this important subject and further the work of this so much needed reform.

FROM BEAN BLOSSOM, BROWN CO., IND.

* * * The seed that you are sowing is taking root; the principle is right; and I hope it will succeed.

FROM FLINT, IOWA.

* * * There appears to be an increasing interest manifested upon the subject of our commercial relations with other countries. Our people are talking upon the subject and comparing the merits of free trade and protection. Five years ago, I believe, I was the only pronounced free trade man in this part of Mahaska county; now we can count those who favor the system by the score.

FROM JEFFERSON, IOWA.

* * * No feature of American politics so much interests me as the question of free trade, and I find that among the masses of Iowa men the same feeling exists whenever the subject is discussed.

FROM PORT SANILAC, MICH.

* * * Several former advocates of tariffs are now becoming weary of them. The reading of your paper has produced discussions such as have never been here before on free trade, for and against.

FROM KENOSHA, WIS.

* * * There is an increased interest in the question of free trade throughout the West. Pioneers are learning that protection don't protect when it won't raise the price of their wheat, beef or pork, but will double the cost to them of woollens, boots and shoes, &c., and add largely to fuel, lumber, &c.

FROM MILWAUKEE, WIS.

* * * Printed documents well circulated will do good; but better still, send one to three "plain men" well up in the principles of free trade and hard money, into each State North of "Mason & Dixon's" Line, who can gather the people into the school houses and talk to them as opportunity offers, and in one year you will have flanked the enemy.

FROM OREGON, BOLT CO., MO.

* * * An impression prevails, and it is studiously kept up by the protectionists, that the West is in favor of high tariffs. This is not true. The tariff men make a noise while the others are quiet. I believe the western people can very soon be made to comprehend the true doctrines of political economy. But public discussion must be had, and documents be circulated.

FROM NASHVILLE CENTRE, MARTIN CO., MINN.

* * * The idea of building up the country by enriching the few is about exploded. Napoleon, in a letter to George the Third, said, "A country whose prosperity is based on agriculture can never be destroyed." * * * The subject of free trade has been debated some in our lyceums, with much favor in free trade.

FROM SHERMAN CITY, KAN.,

* * * There is a great interest now being taken by the farmers as to the general welfare and good of the country; the result sooner or later will be free trade. Agriculture is the main business of the West; already the farmers acknowledge that when our business (farming) is prosperous all other trades are correspondingly prosperous. I claim that if we ever have manufactories in the West the prosperity of the farmers will bring that result. * * *

We are confronted here with the charge that money is being used to propagate the doctrine of free trade, but our answer to that is, money is also used to propagate the doctrines of Christianity, and none but the heathen ever think of charging the donors with designs upon their happiness or prosperity. And Mr. Stanley writes from the heart of Africa: "To civilize this people, send them free trade." If free trade is good for Africa, it is good for America. See the wisdom of Providence in the fact that one portion of the earth produces one thing, another place something else, necessitating commerce—an interchange of the various products of the earth.

FROM NEBRASKA.

* * * I have been a subscriber to the *Evening Post* for sixteen years, and expect to take it as long as I live; but I must say the pamphlets I have received from

your office please me better than anything else I have ever seen on the subject. I have read every word in them and parts of them several times over; I am sorry that I cannot send on a dollar subscription for the *NEW CENTURY* now, but if you will send it to me till harvest I will pay you and try to get a few others to take it. * * *

FROM MARSHALL, CLAY CO., NEB.

* * * We hope to see the little acorn become a very large tree. The farmers, above all classes, should consider the work of the Alliance their own. We have, however, been led by demagogues so long, that, between paying dividends on watered railroad stocks, high prices for patent protected machinery, and the protected other necessities of life, unless we find relief we will be reduced to a state of slavery.

FROM WARRENTON, VA.

* * * If you will give me a Moody and Sankey and let me send them to the West, I will turn the presidential election on the question and carry it.

FROM BRADFORD, KY.

* * * The prosperity of the Alliance is a subject which ought to enter into the thoughts and awaken fresh energy on the part of every member. * * * There is yet a vast field for labor. Let the people know that you are still in the land by keeping yourselves prominent before the public eye. * * * We should be wide awake, and in the strength of the Alliance make aggressive warfare upon error in all of its multiplied forms. This is not a time for making compromises of principles. * * * Surely great good will come of the work now being performed by the Alliance.

FROM BELLE MEADE, NEAR NASHVILLE, TENN.

* * * There is decided interest in the objects of the Alliance among the more advanced thinkers of this section, and when the subject is properly agitated, and the principles understood, not only this State, but the whole South ought to embrace it, and, I think, will.

FROM JACKSON, MISS.

* * * The question of free trade creates a lively interest in the agricultural community of this State, and is universally advocated by the Grangers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of letters from the following correspondents:

- Massachusetts*—Edw. L. Hyde, South Abington; N. H. Griffen, Williams College; C. Woodman, Cambridge; Clarence L. Sargent, Brockton; Melvil Dewey, Amherst College; H. Willey, New Bedford; E. L. Saffern, Boston; E. Atkinson, Boston.
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- Canada*—Wm. Burgess, Jr., Burgoyne.

OUR WORK.

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INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE.

THIS organization has been formed for the purpose of promoting industrial and commercial freedom—absolute freedom in exchanging the productions of industry with all the world.

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WE HOLD, That comfort, wealth, civilization, and the welfare of mankind are directly promoted and increased by exchanging the products of labor between individuals, and states, and nations. That farmers, or mechanics, or any other producers do not promote their own welfare by keeping more than they need of anything which they have produced, but by exchanging the surplus in purchasing whatever they desire of things produced by others, wherever they can do so most advantageously to themselves. That as a people, we are not free, in so far as the liberty to make such exchanges—such sales and purchases—is restricted by the arbitrary power of government.

WE HOLD, That the Custom House system of obtaining national revenue, violates the principles of American liberty, fosters international prejudices, is hurtful to republicanism, and hinders the growth of peace and good-will among men. That it interferes with and injures lawful business, which is constantly the subject of sudden and arbitrary changes in the tariff. That it is a formidable obstacle in the way of our national prosperity, and the pursuit of useful and honorable enterprise. That it has for many years been one of the most fruitful causes of sectional irritation and animosity. That it is a wasteful and unjust method of obtaining revenue, in causing the people to pay, in cost of living, an enormously greater amount than ever reaches the treasury. That it is a constant and strong incentive to bribery, corruption and smuggling, which are ruinous to honest merchants. That it affords excuse for employing a very large number of officials, who control political and party machinery, and whose influence prevents the first step in Civil Service Reform.

The efforts of the ALLIANCE will be directed towards obtaining ABSOLUTE FREEDOM IN TRADE AND COMMERCE by abandoning the Custom House revenue system, as soon as it can be done without injury to the best interests of the people; providing for the necessary expenses of government by a just, undisguised, and economical method of TAXATION; and ensuring CIVIL SERVICE REFORM by reducing the multitude of offices now existing, but which will then be no longer necessary.

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of this disadvantage. Of course, if it is true that wages are higher here, that would be the true inference.

It was also agreed, on behalf of protection, that protection and revenue were antagonistic to each other, and that the government ought to be supported by "direct" taxation, while duties on imports should be reserved entirely for purposes of protection. Niles published long articles in which he urged this view of the subject, and he brought forward many and strong considerations in favor of what he called direct taxation. He showed what the tariff really cost each consumer, he opposed a revenue from import duties as uncertain, and all this in favor of prohibitory duties for the purpose of protection.

Another feature of the controversy was that the shipping interest was blamed in no measured terms for opposing protection to manufactures. The growth of shipping was pointed out and traced back to the discriminating and tonnage duties of 1789, and the shipping interest was charged with selfishness in resisting the application of the same means to other industries. In this connection we meet with the best instance of the fallacy which inheres in the word "protection" itself. In making up the account against the shipping interest for the protection which had been accorded to it, the war undertaken for its defence, but against its will, was charged to it, and also the entire expense of the navy. The navy "protected" the merchant ships from unlawful attacks or interference, that is, it gave them the security which it is the business of government to provide, and which is analogous to the office of courts and police on land, but this protection was made a basis of argument, that the government ought to interfere likewise to "protect" producers *against industrial competition*.

A similar charge of selfishness was brought against the cotton manufacturers of New England, who, after 1820, opposed any further protection. Their industry was firmly established and very remunerative, and they found that the effect of protection was simply to disturb their business by tempting great numbers into it, and by exposing it to great fluctuations. It was argued against them that the system ought to be extended to wool and iron, until they reached the same point. This is logical and correct, but, as has often been shown, it reduces the system to an absurdity. After taxing the community to foster one industry, it is proposed to tax that one, with others, to foster a second, then all the preceding to encourage a third. It follows that the first and second lose their advantage, and that the result is a series of weak fosterlings supported by weakened legitimate industries.

The same criticism applies to any system of "incidental protection." The claim is put in to widen the system and do "justice" by favoring all, which is impossible. The only real justice is to favor none.

The great argument of this period, however, was "hard times." There was a commercial crisis in 1819, which has not, perhaps, been equalled since. The complaints were kept up for five years, although the only

ground for them, if any, was the comparison with the flush times of speculation and paper money, and they were just such times of distress as the whole commercial world was enduring. The complaints ceased when the tariff of 1824 was passed.

Those who argued most strenuously on this ground, found themselves putting propositions together which made a strange combination when compared. Thus: (1.) The United States is the richest country in the world in point of natural resources, and has only a sparse population. (2.) This favored country is in great distress. (3.) What it needs is more taxation to enable its people to get a living in it.

We not unfrequently find arguments used during this period which show that the speakers or writers believed that a girl in a Manchester factory, who, with a loom, could produce as much cloth as several men could make by hand in the same time, was therefore able to exchange her product for the product of the labor of that number of American farmers. Of course all the notions about the balance of trade, and draining specie, and making money scarce are met with continually.

The duties collected under the tariff of 1816, during the last three years of its operation, were equal to a rate of 30 per cent. on dutiable imports. You see that there had been great progress since Hamilton's day.

I come now to the tariff of 1824. That act would not have been passed if it had not been for the political contest which was impending. Here we meet with the new factor of political intrigue, and also with those phenomena which arise from the extension and complexity of the system. This bill was dexterously combined to embrace strength enough to carry it. We also now find the South opposed to protection; as indeed she had been since 1820. The arguments employed were not new, but the issue was clearer and the debate was far better sustained from the free trade side. We have an argument by Mr. Webster, in which several of the issues which continually arise in this controversy are handled in a masterly manner. He argued them on a plane entirely above the wretched patch-work of which the discussion otherwise consisted. I have already quoted his crushing criticism of the notion of protection as an "American system," under the application of that title which now became current. He showed the advance of opinion on this matter abroad, and showed that we were taking on our young shoulders a load which the older nations would be glad to throw off, if they were not clogged by so many vested interests. He also showed that the distress complained of, so far as it had existed in the last few years, had been due to currency troubles here and abroad, and gave a correct explanation, which few seemed able to understand, of the phenomena of the exchanges here in 1820 and 1821. In regard to the comparative rates of wages, he said: The chairman of the committee "says, it would cost the nation nothing, as a nation, to make our ore into iron. Now, I think it would cost us precisely that which we can worst afford; that is, great labor. * * *

We have been asked * * in a tone of some pathos, whether we will allow to the serfs of Russia and Sweden the benefit of making our iron for us. Let me inform the gentleman that those same serfs do not earn more than seven cents a day, and that they work in these mines, for that compensation, because they are serfs. And, let me ask the gentleman further, *whether we have any labor in this country that cannot be better employed than in a business which does not yield the laborer more than seven cents a day?* * * * The true reason why it is not our policy to compel our citizens to manufacture our own iron is, that they are far better employed. It is an unproductive business, and they are not poor enough to be obliged to follow it. If we had more of poverty, more of misery and something of servitude; if we had an ignorant, idle, starving population, we might set up for iron makers against the world. * * * The freight of iron has been afforded from Sweden to the United States as low as eight dollars per ton. This is not more than the price of fifty miles' land carriage. Stockholm, therefore, for the purpose of this argument, may be considered as within fifty miles of Philadelphia. Now, it is at once a strong and just view of this case, to consider that there are, within fifty miles of our market, vast multitudes of persons who are willing to labor in the production of this article for us at the rate of seven cents per day, while we have no labor which will not command, upon the average, at least five or six times that amount. The question is then, shall we buy this article of these manufacturers and suffer our own labor to earn its greater reward, or shall we employ our own labor in a similar manufacture, and make up to it, by a tax on consumers, the loss which it must necessarily sustain."

Unfortunately, Mr. Webster was bound by local interests to sustain the protection to shipping, and this was fatal to his opposition. Massachusetts wanted protection on ships, but not on hemp or iron or molasses. A small Massachusetts interest joined with Rhode Island and Connecticut in favor of an increased tax on woolens, but not on wool. The tariff of 1816, it was said, had not sufficiently protected woolens, and had made the tax, such as it was, diminish at intervals. The English bounty on exported woolens was a damage which, it was claimed, ought to be counteracted. Observe the antagonism here established: England, pursuing the old restrictive system by these bounties, made a present to foreign nations at the expense of her own taxpayers. The foreign nations regarded this gift as an injury, and set up barriers against its acceptance, at the expense of their taxpayers. Could anything more conclusively condemn the whole system?

Then look at the internal conflict of interest. Kentucky wanted a tax on hemp to encourage her production, although her dew-rotted hemp was so inferior to the Russian water-rotted hemp that it never competed. She also wanted a tax on molasses to make rum-dear in the interest of whiskey. Louisiana wanted a tax on molasses for protection to her sugar planters. The Middle States and Ohio wanted protection on raw wool;

and Pennsylvania, of course, wanted protection on iron. In the conflict of interests New England was defeated, having less political power, and hemp, whiskey, iron, and raw wool, uniting the Middle and Western States, carried the day. The minimum on cottons was raised to 30 cts. A minimum for woollens was established at 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ cts., and the duty was put at 30 per cent., to be advanced to 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. in a year. Raw wool, costing less than 10 cts. per lb., was to pay 15 per cent. Other wool was to pay 20 per cent. for a year, 25 per cent. the second year, and 30 per cent. afterwards. Bar iron was raised to \$18 per ton if forged, and stood at \$30 if rolled. This was to off-set the cheapness of the new process chiefly used in England.

This tariff passed the House by 107 to 102. New England gave 15 votes for it, and 23 against it. The Southern and Southwestern States gave two votes for it. The duties collected under it were, on an average, equal to a rate of 37 per cent.

One expects now, in reading the contemporaneous records, to be rid of the subject for a time. The reader naturally says: "The tariff has been raised; the protection has been granted. The question is disposed of." Nothing of this kind, however, took place. The high-tariff interest was by no means satisfied with the result, especially as regarded woollens. The agitation recommenced the next year, with a reiteration of the old arguments, condemnation of "our present ruinous system," and demand for protection, as if there had been no concessions in that direction. This calls our attention to certain features inherent in the protective system, and shows us how erroneous in practice, as well as in theory, is the notion that we can proceed through protection to free trade. Protection nourishes dependence, not independence. It is a system in which all the parts hang together, and protection for some cannot be united with freedom for others. If one industry should be set out in free competition, while the rest were protected, it would be found that they are interdependent; that machinery, raw materials and labor supplies would be so dear that the exposed industry would have no fair chance in competition with foreigners. Hence one long protected industry, if it became independent by natural causes, could not be left free unless the whole system were abandoned. But then the cry goes up from those nurslings of recent beginning, that they are not yet ready. If you defer the introduction of freedom for ten years longer on their account, a new company of infants is meantime brought into being, and the plea for further delay comes from them. Thus you go on forever, and the theory is reduced to an absurdity.

During the period from 1824 to 1828 the political factor in the tariff controversy rose to chief importance. The administration of J. Q. Adams was exposed to the most vigorous and relentless opposition from the party which had formed around Andrew Jackson. After the Democratic convention of Harrisburg in 1824 it was certain that Pennsylvania was enthusiastic for Jackson. The rural population of that State cared more

for Jackson than for tariff. This was a fact which the politicians had simply to accept as a fact. The composition of the Jackson party therefore, coincided to a certain extent with the coalition which had passed the tariff of 1824. New England as the Adams section was, both politically and on the tariff, still more in a position to be neglected than it was in 1847. The South found its political combinations and its tariff interests inconsistent.

England still furnished a convenient and popular object of attack. She now showed her perfidy and desire to ruin American manufactures by reducing her own duties on raw wool to one penny per lb. This enabled her manufacturers to manufacture so cheaply as to pay our import duties and yet compete with success. According to the theory which we are studying, this was a serious reason for "protecting" ourselves against the good this might have brought to us. The woolen manufacturers of Boston accordingly sent a petition to Congress in 1826 asking for more protection. Jan. 10th, 1827, a bill was introduced for raising the duties on wool and woolens. It was tabled in the Senate by the casting vote of Calhoun. It was in the New England interest, and, as Niles said, politics were in the way.

In July, 1827, a national convention met at Harrisburg, called by the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and Mechanic Acts to consider measures for promoting manufactures. It was the most energetic attempt ever made to organize and give symmetry to the protectionist movement. It adopted resolutions in favor of more protection for iron, steel, glass, wool, woolens and hemp. It proposed a duty of 20 cents a pound on wool costing 8 cents or more, to advance $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per annum until it should be 50 cents. It adopted four minima for woolens, 50 cents, \$2.50, \$4.00, \$6.00. The duty was to be 40 per cent. for a year, 45 per cent. the next year, and 50 per cent. afterwards.

The committee on manufactures at the next session of Congress recommended that evidence should be taken as to the state of manufactures. This was a new departure, for hitherto all tariff legislation had been made blindly and ignorantly. The Northern protectionists opposed the proposition; the South favored and carried it. The evidence all went to show deplorable distress in all manufacturing industry, although the country generally was enjoying great prosperity. The argument necessarily was tangled and contradictory. It was urged, and really was the greatest popular argument, that the country owed its prosperity to the tariff, but here were the manufacturers claiming to be in distress. The truth was that the country possessed such means of producing wealth that the tariff could not crush them. Then again the distress was needed as an argument for more protection, but what light did it throw back on the previous attempts in that direction?

Many of the peculiar doctrines I have mentioned as advocated at an earlier period were now heard no longer, but a new one was brought forward and repeated again and again, viz., that protection, by domestic

competition, lowers prices. I have already, in my former lecture, discussed this doctrine.

The new tariff bill was introduced in February, 1828. It was based upon the recommendations of the Harrisburg convention. Its central feature was wool and woollens. Hemp, iron and molasses figured as before. It came forward, therefore, as a New England or Adams measure, and the Jackson coalition opposed it, but under the necessity of satisfying the Middle and Western States. The feeling in the South was already very bitter about the tariff legislation, and this new effort to push on the system, reckless of Southern protests, still further embittered the South. The West also took the position that they had as yet had nothing of this good, which it was assumed that the Government had to distribute, and they demanded that, if the system was to go on, they should have their share. Mr. Webster took the position for Massachusetts, that she had been forced into manufactures by the policy adopted in 1824, in spite of her protests, and she now protested that the investments into which she had been drawn should not be sacrificed.

You look in vain through the discussion of this bill for any broad principles. Much was said indeed about a national policy, but it all referred to this system which, at the first approach to actual discussion, resolved itself into political intrigue, a strife of sections, and a struggle between "interests." Much was said about broad principles, but all referred to the notion that by robbing all for the benefit of the few it was possible in some way, which never was explained, to gain great benefit to all. The South adopted the policy of trying to make the bill as bad as possible. They proposed and advocated absurd and extravagant exaggerations, in the hope, apparently, that they could thus make apparent to the protectionists the enormity of their propositions and the absurdity of their demands. This policy did not work. The belief in the great protectionist dogmas had now become strong. Political exigencies were great, and the Northern protectionists either rejected the exaggerated propositions, or accepted them in good faith. This tariff came to be known as the "tariff of abominations," but its worst abominations were forced into it by the perverse policy of the Southern men. What it concerns us to observe is, the evil effects of mixing up politics and president-making with fiscal legislation, and the exaggerations to which the protective system leads.

The result of this struggle was that the tax on molasses was raised to 10 cents per gallon. The tax on wool was put at 4 cents per pound and 40 per cent., to increase by 5 per cent. annually until it was 50 per cent. A \$1.00 minimum was inserted in the scheme proposed at Harrisburgh, and a tax of 40 cents a square yard was laid. This combination of taxes, resulting from political motives only, to favor the wool growers of the Middle and Ohio States and not to make woollens dear to consumers in the same districts and in the South, was exceedingly injurious to woollen manufacturers. You observe that it is not in human ingenuity to interpose in the delicate relations of trade by arbitrary enact-

ments without doing damage. On account of these features of the tariff in regard to molasses and woollens it got only 16 votes from New England (in the House) to 23 against it.

The tax on bar iron, not rolled, was raised to \$22.40 per ton; if rolled, \$37 per ton. Hemp was raised to \$45 per ton. These features, with the tax on wool, gained the force which carried the bill in the house, 105 to 94. On the final vote, there were in the affirmative 61 Adams and 44 Jackson votes; in the negative, 35 Adams and 59 Jackson votes. The South, after putting the "abominations" in the bill, voted against it, except three votes. To show the want of good faith, it is significant to notice that, on the motion for the previous question, 11 Adams and 99 Jackson men voted in the affirmative, and 80 Adams and 11 Jackson men in the negative.

All the New England men, and all the *bona fide* tariff men like Niles were dissatisfied with this bill, and began at once to agitate for its amendment. It has been customary for the tariff advocates to speak of it as a good bill, which only needed some slight "adjustments." We see, I think, if we look at it candidly, the very best proof that such adjustments are required forever, that is, that they are impossible. It is a specimen of the purest quackery in legislation. I think it shows also that the only petition any sober business man can ever address to the Legislature is to "let him alone" and, if possible, not legislate about his affairs at all. In this very debate of 1828, Mr. Stevenson, of Pennsylvania, arguing for the tariff, said: "If legislation were as intelligent as commerce is vigilant, much national evil might be avoided." I could only improve this by saying, "If it were perceived that legislation never can be as intelligent as commerce is vigilant, far more national evil would be avoided."

The agitation of the Northern protectionists, for the amendment of the tariff, sank into insignificance in comparison with the discontent which the tariff caused in the South. The South was, of course, crippled by slavery, but it is undeniable that the complaint the Southerners made was just and well founded. They sold in a free market and bought in a protected one. They claimed that they had inherited the grievances of the colonies at the revolution, and that they stood just where the colonists had stood at that time; asking why they should maintain a political connection in which the taxing power was abused for their oppression. When they were told that they must yield to the welfare of the whole, they replied that this was England's old argument that the colonies should bow to imperial considerations. Thus the tariff controversy, pushed to extremes by the power of the majority, and in disregard of the pleas of the minority for justice, assailed our political system in its most delicate and most vital part—the integrity of the confederation. The attempt of South Carolina to nullify the tariff act was not open disunion and secession. It was worse. It was an attempt to remain in the Union and yet reduce the confederation to imbecility and contempt.

Thus forty years after the first tariff with its 8 per cent. import on dutiable, we find that the system had steadily advanced, that the infant industries were as feeble and clamorous as ever, that the burden had been increased until it was now equal to 41 per cent., that it had been elaborated into a system in which the lobby had been trained and educated, that it had corrupted politics and furnished capital for political schemes, that it had, on the testimony of those interested, done them no good, and that it had brought the confederation face to face with its greatest danger, that of disruption.

THREE REASONS FOR FREE TRADE.

A valued contributor at Troy, N. Y., presents some thoughts upon Free Trade, whose breadth will commend them to good thinkers. He says:

Now that the slavery question, with all its collateral issues, is, let us hope, forever disposed of, Free Trade and Direct Taxation looms up upon the horizon as the great question of the present and future. And, in my humble judgment, this cause is bound to succeed. There are three special reasons that lead me to this conclusion:

FIRST.—Free Trade, in its spirit and scope, is but a further extension of the Christian idea of fellowship and fraternity among all mankind. The tendency of modern thought and action is to the leveling of all sectional and sectarian barriers. The world is fast becoming more cosmopolitan. Men's minds are beginning to look beyond the narrow confines of State boundaries and see that there are sons of Adam the other side of the line. Color and nationality are becoming of less account each year. The spirit of Christianity teaches man to respect his fellow-man, whether he be Mongolian or Caucasian. To this cause we owe the tendency of modern thought.

There is another influence, however, which has contributed to this result: namely, international trade. And we may set this down as a truism, that just in proportion as trade becomes free and untrammelled, nations and men will become assimilated. Alexander and Napoleon dreamed of universal empire, but failed. What the greatest captains of ancient and modern times could not do, Free Trade will accomplish.

SECONDLY.—Free Trade and Direct Taxation, viewed from an American standpoint, is the only method consistent with the perpetuation of those twin spirits of our institutions—freedom and equality. Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, when he wished to continue the spirit of equality he had engendered among the people, banished gold and silver from the country and substituted an iron currency in its stead in order to prevent an accumulation of wealth and thus check the growth of an aristocracy. He clearly saw the danger of a moneyed or landed aristocracy in a free country.

What the founders of our government made such strenuous efforts to prevent, is fast becoming a reality in this country. Under the mis-

taken idea of protecting home industries, we are building up a wealthy class which is gradually destroying our much boasted equality.

An aristocracy founded upon wealth, though perhaps not *so lasting*, is just as destructive to liberty as one based upon landed possessions. It becomes selfish and arrogant, and grasps after every power of government. The safety of person and property soon becomes more important to this class than individual freedom. In this way liberty is subverted, and popular institutions are overthrown. Free Trade and Direct Taxation will remedy this evil, if adopted, and prevent this deplorable result.

THIRDLY.—The general depression of business at present existing is bringing the minds of the people back to a consideration of sounder principles of economic law. They are seeking to learn the causes which have led to this long continued stagnation of industry. Every question that has a bearing upon the subject is being discussed in the press and in conventions. As they proceed they will find three causes which have produced the existing state of things: 1st, the uncertainty in the minds of business men, the result of fluctuating currency; 2dly, the inevitable results of a long continued war, producing fictitious values and the like; and, 3dly, and greatest of all, the demoralization and corruption in the government and among the people, the legitimate effects of a high tariff policy. These are the three main causes of the present crisis in business affairs, and as the investigation progresses, the people will be led to see them more clearly and to apply the proper remedies.

These are, in brief, the three chief reasons I have for holding to the conclusion with which I started.

Added to this, I have an absolute faith in the intelligence of the American people, and that it is but necessary to thoroughly agitate this question in order to convince them that the adoption of our measure is necessary to restore our government to the simplicity and purity of its early existence.

ABSOLUTE FREE TRADE.

A Free Trader writes from Wisconsin:—So far as I have been able to inquire, I find nearly all in this section who have hitherto simply declared hostility to the protective features of our tariff, are ready to take the solid logical ground of absolute free trade.

This fact, I must say, rather surprised me at first, for I did not think our revenue reformers were yet quite ready to take this advanced ground.

But I suspect the real truth is, that others have felt when hard pressed by their antagonists, as I have in similar polemical straits, the logical *necessity* of taking the impregnable position of free trade.

Any thing short of this is untenable, and can only be justified as one of those compromising provisional arrangements some "practical" men deem necessary as a step forward in our progress toward better things.

And, indeed, it does require the faith and zeal of a propagandist to labor on, year after year, for an object which, at best, must be very remote,

and the benefits of which, however large to the public, must be comparatively small to any single individual.

In the commercial development of England, it was a long way between Adam Smith and Robert Peel. Not quite so long between Ricardo and Canning; but we have not yet reached our Ricardo period. And how long shall we have to wait for our Brights, our Mills and Barings, the enlightened statesmen who will crystalize into law our aspirations for commercial freedom?

Unlike the case of the privileged protected classes, the promptings of self-interest can be relied upon to only a limited extent in impelling men to advocate the doctrine of free trade. And so reliance must be placed mainly upon those higher motives and sentiments which, to quote the language of John Stuart Mill, will induce "human beings to exert themselves strenuously in procuring benefits which are not to be exclusively their own, but to be shared with the society they belong to. * * * True enough, it is only by slow degrees and a system of culture prolonged through successive generations, that men in general can be brought up to this point."

It is in this preparatory educational work that our unselfish economists must engage, looking forward to absolutely free commerce as the goal to be finally but certainly reached, and, in the meanwhile, welcoming and aiding all intermediate reforms as successive steps in our progress to the desired end.

In this way, and in this attitude, there is encouragement to work. Besides, it seems to be in accordance with general experience that any given limited reform will be sooner achieved by proposing at once measures considered extreme.

A VOICE FROM THE SOUTH.

The head of a University in one of the Southern States, writes to us:

I thank you much for the specimen numbers of "New Century," and had occasion the day after their reception to use a portion of Prof. Sumner's address in a lecture to the class in Political Economy.

Permit me to say, that as a South Carolinian, the son of a mechanic, myself finishing at a trade, never having owned a slave, but for seven years having taught in Charleston a colored school, I protest that the part I took in the late civil strife arose not from a desire to perpetuate slavery, but from profound sympathy with my tax-oppressed section.

Since the hour of my parole, I have not ceased, conscientiously, to endeavor to extinguish all sectional animosity in my own heart as well as all others under my influence. I hail your movement as the first ray of light upon the gloom that now pervades the nation. The movement is not only wise, it is eminently patriotic. In my judgment what is proposed is the solitary means left, as it is the solitary measure demanded to secure universal and enthusiastic devotion to the "old flag." Then indeed, shall we have "the best government the world ever saw," but not until then.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A friendly journal has made the plan of the Alliance an open secret, by pointing out that the NEW CENTURY dwells especially upon the simplest principles of political economy, which everybody ought to know. In a word, our method is educational and not political. We have much fear that the politicians would soon outwit us, should we attempt a bout at wire-pulling with them; our aim is to go behind the politicians in an appeal to the great court of the people. And under the confusion of right and wrong and truth and falsehood that has come upon this country as a result of the Protectionist system, the work to be done is absolutely elementary teaching. The success of free trade principles depends simply upon bringing economical truths home to the people, and so far as the Alliance and this, its little journal, succeed in that unambitious work, so far they will succeed in the great cause which they have at heart.

It is in view of this that our relations with the colleges become of chief importance. We already have requests from a score and more of colleges to furnish our publications to their libraries or to supply them to students whose names are given. This is a field in which the seed sown is likely to bear most fruit, for these young men who are now talking about things will soon be the workers, the voters and active leaders in our country. The teaching in political economy through the colleges has, of course, been chiefly in the direction of free trade, for the man of thought is commonly brought to the conclusion to which Professor Sumner means to bring his readers. In fact, so generally was this the case that the protectionists were in a pitiable way for college text books, and a book published not long since in Philadelphia had put forth, as its main recommendation, the assertion that it was the only protectionist college text book that could be had. But it is especially important that these young men should be brought, while in college, into relations with the facts they will have to deal with when they come out into practical life, and the purpose of the Alliance, in this particular, is that as they come out of college as thinkers, they may fall immediately into line as workers and voters with the great body of free trade believers, whose numbers are steadily increasing, day by day.

One of the most effective means of drawing out information and making truths clear and telling, is by open discussion, in which both sides are heard, and there is a play of argument. The literary societies of the colleges are organized for just this sort of practice, and if they would more generally choose subjects of present bearing to discuss in the light of the broad principles it is the business of the higher education to teach, there would be less divorce between politics and the scholar when their men come out into active life. We may later present some sug-

gestions of subjects and methods of treatment to this end, and the Alliance will at all times be glad to furnish documents and information for such debates. There are thousands of lyceums and debating societies outside the colleges of which the same is to be said, and, in general, the Free Trader cannot do better service than by promoting discussion, whether through "inquiry meetings," or by challenging protectionists, or by taking up the gauntlet in their own camps. But always let both sides be heard.

The Free-Trader, however, should take care to have it understood that the burden of proof is really upon Protectionists. They are prone to avoid the direct issue by citing, in more or less disguised shape, the maxim that "whatever is, is right," and crying out upon Free Trade as an innovation against settled institutions, "English" and un-American, a theory that is impracticable. Nothing could be further from the truth. Free Trade is the natural order of things; Protection is an innovating theory that turns nature topsy-turvy, and must show cause for its violations of natural law. Free Trade is the only principle of commerce that matches the Declaration of Independence, and Protection is the old world theory that favored classes in the state must be provided for at the expense of others. The Protectionist cry is, nevertheless, effective, and it behooves Free Traders to see that no dust of this sort is thrown into the eyes of the people.

The European Protectionists, openly or in disguise, are still engaged in their old habit of dust-throwing, and wish to have some of the commercial treaties redrawn to favor their views. Mr. Corr Vanderhaeren, the veteran Free Trade champion of Belgium, has scotched this snake in his letter to the Cobden Club, which gives the figures from official sources, for the comparison of the results of the Protective period in that country (1840-1850) with that of the comparatively Free Trade period (1850-70). "We may confidently affirm," says he, "that with less labor our workmen are better paid, better clad, better lodged, and more free from lack of work than they were under the Protective tariff." In proof: The population of Belgium was in 1840, 4,073,162; in 1850 4,426,202; in 1871, 5,113,680, or 449½ per square mile, the largest proportion in any European country. The steam power employed in manufactories amounted in 1838 to 25,312 horse power; in 1844, 37,370; in 1870, 345,959. The production of coal mines was in 1840, 3,930,000 tons; in 1850, 5,821,000 tons; in 1870, 13,700,000 tons. The number of ships entering Belgian ports was in 1840, 1,797, of 227,269 tonnage; in 1850, 2,165, of 314,797 tonnage; in 1870, 5,658, of 1,575,293 tonnage; in 1871, 7,778, of 2,166,270 tonnage. The general commerce of Belgium (importation and exportation together) shows in 1840 a movement of 429 million of francs; in 1850, 912 million of francs; whereas, under a comparatively free tariff, it increased by 1870 to 3,282 million of francs; and in 1871 was 4,497 million

of francs. The average value of land was, in 1830, 2,130 francs the hectare ; in 1850, 2,715 francs ; in 1866, at the last census, 3,946 francs the hectare. These figures must be sadly discouraging to our Protectionist prophets, who foretell a general stagnation under Free Trade rule, but they must cultivate their despair very strenuously in face of the positive fact stated by the writer, that the prosperity of manufacturing interests, as shown by the importation of raw material and exportation of products, is precisely in inverse proportion to the Protection left them under the present system. Thus the Free Trade woolen manufacturers of Verviers (where stands Belgium's statue to Robert Cobden) are prosperous, while the Protective cotton-workers of Ghent are complaining.

Contrast the Belgian shipping figures with our own, and there is a moral that he who runs, Mr. Kelley excepted, may read without glasses. No one would have suspected it from that gentleman's speech, but John Roach & Sons tell a *New York Times* reporter: "There is no information to be given about the ship-building trade, for during the past six months there has not been a contract entered into or an iron ship built in the country. The ship-building trade generally, both in wood and iron construction, has suffered more than any other branch of business. * * At present there are but two iron vessels on the stocks, and they are in yards at Wilmington, Del." It must have been these two vessels which Mr. Kelley saw, and they multiplied in his enthusiastic imagination like Falstaff's men in buckram. Nobody but Mr. Kelley would suppose that we could cut off foreign business, as his school aims to do, and also have ships. So we must be content that the flag of the free, made out of Gen. Butler's bunting, floats proudly over the fleet of American iron ships evolved from Mr. Kelley's imagination. The misfortune is that this sort of ship-building pays poor wages to the American workingman.

Congress has not approached much nearer the millenium since our last, the centennial investigations having kept its hands full. The Committee have, however, reported favorably the Morison tariff bill, and there is said to be prospect of its passage by the House. How, when, and with what amendments? the merchant will ask. That no power can tell. Meanwhile "Here we go up, up, up, and here we go down, down, downie," as the nursery rhyme says, and the chief effect of Congressional legislation is a chronic instability of prices, leading a large part of the community to speculation. "How long will ye suffer it?"

In this state of things, the only open road to a better is that of popular agitation. There are a good many, who ask what is the use of presenting free trade questions to the people in a presidential year, when other political questions are uppermost. It really is not true that there is any political *question* before the people in party politics, for the

present division of parties is what the scientists call a "survival," and has little present meaning. The answer to such critics is, however, that it takes time to inform the popular mind, and therefore we must begin now, and that there is a certain advantage in pushing the question, so far as our methods are concerned, *before* it becomes a matter of party prejudice. We propose to make an opportunity, if needs be, and can lose no time.

This is the centennial year also of the publication of that *magna charta* of economics, "The Wealth of Nations," and on invitation of Mr. Parke Godwin, a number of gentlemen gathered at his house April 18th, to arrange for its celebration. A public dinner will probably be held, which will do good. We should also note, in the interests of pure government, the call for a liberal conference, to be held in New York, May 15th, signed by Mr. Bryant, Mr. Schurz, Mr. White and others. We are cordially glad of both these movements.

Compulsory delay in the issue of the March number has obliged us to make this a double issue, for March and April, and we present, therefore, twice the usual number of pages. We are glad to know that our work is so far appreciated as to call out numerous queries as to whether the March number has gone astray. Let us say to these friends that the issue of this journal is a "labor of love"—and of faith—on the part of busy people, who can give only snatched hours to the work. Under these circumstances delays may, we say, have some excuse. They are to our regret quite as much as to that of our readers.

OUR BOOK TABLE.

Among the most useful elementary works that can be circulated in this country is the little "Primer of Political Economy," by Alfred B. Mason and John J. Lalor, which has been published by Jansen, McClurg & Co., at 75 cents. This is a little 16mo of less than 70 pages, in which the leading principles of political economy are set forth in sixteen definitions and forty propositions which are illustrated in brief, effective chapters, containing many valuable facts. The little book can be read through in an evening, although there is material in it for a study of weeks, and if we could get the

voters who hold the balance of power to "study up" on such a simple treatise as this, there would be little question as to the decision of economical problems in this country when they come to a vote. There are yet in any treatise on political economy several questions on which there must be difference of opinion, but in the main, we have only one exception to take to the position of this primer, and that is its definition of the term free trade. Free trade, to our mind, means what it says; and though a tariff may reasonably be discussed, on the facts of the case, as a method of raising

revenue, we cannot agree that a country which has a revenue tariff is really "free trade."

A book of even wider scope, but almost as direct and compact, is the manual of "Social Economy," by Thorold Rogers, Professor of Economic Science at Oxford, which Mr. G. H. Putnam has put in shape for American readers by changing the illustrative examples and using American terms for the figures. The book first shows the distinction between savage and civilized life, and then beginning with an analysis of the economic elements entering into a loaf of bread, gives a rapid but suggestive survey of the field of economic and social science. It is not in school-book form like the Primer, but is for general reading as well as study, and its style is clear and pleasantly attractive. It is published by

G. P. Putnam's Sons in their Popular ~~Manu-~~als, at 75 cents.

Hon. David A. Wells' expected story has made its appearance and attracted wide and favorable attention. It takes up from De Foe the story of "Robinson Crusoe's Money," and presents the hard-money argument in an attractive way by picturing the commercial and financial experiments and experiences of his island community. A good deal of economic truth is incidentally taught. The book is entertaining reading, despite many digressions, for the incidents are told with a lively humor, especially that of the milk farmers, where they tried to feed the babies with milk tickets. Some clever satires by Nast add to the effectiveness of the book, which is published by Harper & Brothers at \$1.00, in cloth; 50 cts. in paper.

GLEANINGS FROM THE PRESS.

A correspondent in the *New Century*, suggests a Free Trade centennial exhibition, at New York, during the coming Summer, assuming that it is too late to provide for such an one at Philadelphia, even if the managers there would permit it. It seems curious when we think of it, that it has never occurred to the free traders, here and in England, to provide a small Free Trade counter here and there at State fairs, and wherever possible. A few samples of foreign manufactures with the prices affixed would be a very practical argument against protective tariffs.—*Christian Union*, March 8th.

One of the subsidiary reasons for advocating Free Trade is the enormous amount of official corruption which has grown out of the maintenance of a protective tariff. * * The corruption spoken of has not been by any means confined to official circles alone. It has permeated the body of the people so thoroughly, that an evasion of the customs is almost universally regarded as a merit rather than as a disgrace. It is true that the fault here may be not in the system so much as in the individual, but it is at the same time clearly an outgrowth of the system which has affected the individual.—*Scotsman*, March 18th.

It is not a Free Trade journal, but the *New York Tribune*, which says that, after all the "reductions" in our "civil service," the anxious citizen, on a visit to the Custom House, will discover the remnant to consist of an imposing array of patriots, most of whom have made shipwreck of their prospects in the ordinary avocations of life, and who do not appear to be oppressed or overburdened with the toils and responsibilities of their position. He will find the barge office populous with inspectors, smoking at ease the tributary cigar which has been levied, assessed, and collected from the merchant marine, domestic and foreign. He can review in the weighers' offices squads of ward politicians who can find little merchandise to weigh, but who are in the active enjoyment of reprisals from the billious stores of the hardy mariner. If he escapes the watchful eye of the sentinel, who receives 40 cents an hour for guarding the doorway of the gaugers' office, on West or South streets, and without announcement climbs the stairway to that retreat, he can witness an athletic game of draw-poker, in which the gauger is struggling for the monthly stipend of his four 'assistants.'" Truly a pleasing picture to the eye of the economizing tax-payer!

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE.

The current letters from the corresponding members of the Alliance and outside correspondents, in all parts of the country, give a most informing and suggestive view of the relations of free trade, showing here apathy, there complications with political questions, but generally a wide-spread belief or an eager inquiry. We regret that we cannot give space to more of these letters, but we print herewith extracts from letters from several states from which reports have been received, which show how generally diffused is the interest in free trade.

FROM FORT EDWARD, NEW YORK.

* * * We are talking about forming a "Free Trade Club," and shall probably do so, but it is the year of the Presidential Election and other questions are paramount in the public mind. But, if we can believe what men say, we are having such accessions to our faith that it is quite encouraging. On the merits of our faith the arguments are soon exhausted, because little need be said. They might with propriety be called political axioms; to one who reflects they become self-evident truths.

I have proposed to some of our "Protectionist" friends, that, inasmuch as they profess great sympathy for the laborer, we levy a tariff of duties upon the emigrant laborers coming to this country (say from one to five hundred dollars each according to their skill or ability to perform manual labor) so that they shall not come in competition with our own native laborers. They are horrified at the proposition (no wonder)! But, I ask, why, inasmuch as the manufacturer and capitalists have been "protected" during the existence of our government, is it not time the laborer had his turn? Is there any more inconsistency in the one than in the other?

FROM HARDINSBURGH, KY.

* * * I have received some of your

pamphlets. No. 2, of "THE NEW CENTURY," and am very much obliged to you for them.

They are already distributed and will do a great deal of good in reciting the facts of the doctrine of Free Trade, as well as in directing persons to the best works on political economy.

FROM NASHVILLE CENTRE, MINN.

* * * I am in full sympathy with the objects of the "Alliance." It is time that the brotherhood of nations became an accomplished fact, or Christ will have died in vain. The field of our labor should be the world—Jew and Gentile. National and local rivalries and jealousies have made the history of the world a history of poverty, crime and blood. Our revenue system is a breeding-place of corruption, and the sooner changed the better.

FROM IOWA CITY, IOWA.

* * * Though a young citizen, I feel it my duty to take early an interest in the welfare of our republic. I was very much pleased with your journal, which came to hand a few days ago. I am of class '77, I. S. U., and had political economy last term. The professor, our instructor, is an able advocate of the protection theory; however, we had Dr. Walker's treatise for a text book—an exponent of free trade, but I regret to say that it is not what it should be, and deserves and gets but little praise here. We had quite a large class, the majority of which were free traders in the beginning and the end. The educational institutions of Iowa form a large and fertile field for the growth of the Free Trade Alliance.

Let the centennial year be noted in history by the great and good work done during that period for free trade, and by an awakening of the people to their interests in the abolition of this so-called protection system. But one kind of slavery has been wiped out; as great a curse to the republic is the remaining. By all means should the Alliance succeed and be encouraged in its noble work by the millions to be benefited thereby.

FROM GLEN FLYN, LITTLETON, COLORADO.

* * * The farmers here take no interest in free trade, nor are they likely to, unless it should become a party question.

FROM HEBRON, PORTER CO., IND.

* * * I have for some time considered protection a great hindrance to our national purity and prosperity. Instead of applying themselves to the invention of machinery and the principles of success, our manufacturers use their best efforts in lobbying through tariff measures, and instead of experts in manufacturing we have experts in corrupting our Legislators. I wish the Alliance success.

FROM HENRY, ILL.

* * * There is a great interest felt in the "Free Trade Alliance" by all men of any note in this county, so far as I am conversant. I feel myself that there will be a great achievement gained when the Custom House monopoly is thoroughly done away with.

FROM MONTROSE, ILL.

* * * The good work goes bravely on; the seed sown is already developing itself in a multitude of converts. I expect soon to organize a club of free traders. I give the names of a few who will work with myself in the interest of the Alliance.

FROM MINIER, ILL.

* * * This Free Trade movement must gather force as it moves on, till its momentum will knock "Protection" sky high. If a man is a beggar, in the name of decency, send him to the alms-house, where all legitimate paupers ought to be maintained. But as to the pitiful sophistry of protecting one industry at the expense of others, let us have no more of that.

Is it not strange that the American people are such miserable gudgeons as to bite this naked hook?

FROM OAKFIELD, WIS.

* * * I received a pamphlet from your office some months since, "Our Revenue System and The Civil Service," &c. Having twice read and deeply considered the political doctrines therein set forth, I

announce myself an adherent of them, and wish in some way to aid in disseminating them. You may place my name among those who advocate such wholesome ideas, and I will make a good use of such publications as are for distribution by the Alliance—a few at first as seed.

FROM LEROY, WIS.

* * * The doctrines of the Alliance are so obvious, that it seems to me every candid, unbiased mind on becoming versed in them would receive them as sound and practicable. I, for one, propose to devote my energy and talent to their dissemination, and hope at some time to give substantial aid pecuniarily, but for the present will be obliged to confine myself to the press and forum to teach them.

FROM MADISON, WIS.

* * * A people capable of freeing 4,000,000 slaves ought to be capable of freeing their own trade from the shackles of monopoly and the traditions of feudalism in its worst estate. In a century the country has retrograded from the simple revenue tariff of Washington's day, and adopted all the worst features of those of European nations. The spectacle of a great and free people taxing themselves four dollars as a donation to private greed to get one into their treasury, and as incident thereto destroying their own commerce, is, at best, a sad reflection on the assumed advance of human intelligence. * * * I am more hopeful at present than during the past thirty years that truth and light will break the gloom so long prevailing on these matters. In theory, nearly all our people are Free Traders. When the West does awake to its own material interests, there will be a thunder-clap. Even now three-quarters of the people are on our side, and need only to be freed from demagogue rule to vindicate themselves.

FROM JACKSONVILLE, KAN.

* * * The old political party prejudices are on the wane here on the frontier, and are giving way to new ideas, and no one opinion is gaining in interest so fast as Free Trade.

FROM ELMIRA, NEW YORK.

* * * I find a number of gentlemen here who are in earnest sympathy with the Alliance. * * * I understand it is proposed to organize an Alliance or Club here before long.

I send you by this mail a copy of a pamphlet on the glycerine manufacture issued by Marx Rawolle, 163 William Street, N. Y. I have marked a passage on page 4, which illustrates how the tariff, instead of protecting, really cripples our manufactures.

It shows the impossibility of drawing the line between *crudes* and *products*. The crude material of the glycerine manufacturer is one of the products of the soap maker, and the tariff, protecting the latter, injures the former. Just so I remember some years ago the unfortunate discovery of an emery bed in Massachusetts was followed by an imposition of a heavy duty on imported emery, doubling the price, so that every manufacturer who used emery had to pay tribute to the owners of that mine.

FREE TRADE SOCIETIES.

INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE.

The fifth monthly public meeting of the Alliance was held at the rooms No. 43 Washington Square, on Thursday evening, March 9th, Mr. Harrison presiding.

On introducing the lecturer of the evening, Professor W. G. Sumner, the President remarked:

"Gentlemen,—At a recent meeting of a literary and scientific club in a neighboring city, the following incidents occurred and were related to me by one who was present: A gentleman of wealth and culture, who was engaged in the manufacture of iron and steel, took strong protective ground, and said that he attributed the panics all the way from 1837 to the present time, to low tariff or free trade men, who he believed tried to bring our labor to a level with the pauper labor of Europe. He also was of the opinion that these low tariff or free trade men were simply "theorists," while he and his coadjutors reasoned and acted upon the facts of experience,—which brought forth from those present of his brotherhood of protectionists exultant laughter and applause. At which point a free trader put the following questions to him: Was not Christopher Columbus a "theorist"? Were not Professor Morse and Robert Fulton "theorists"? The tables were turned upon the protectionist, and the exultant laughter was stilled.

"We have with us this evening a gentleman who addressed us at our last monthly

public meeting, and who then declared himself a "theorist." He is present with us this evening, and in addition to "theory," will probably give us some *plain hard facts*. Professor Sumner will now address you."

At the conclusion of Professor Sumner's very able lecture, which is given at length in this number of the journal, the Secretary stated that about fifty letters had been received since the previous meeting, giving encouraging statements regarding the progress of the cause. These letters are from friends living in twenty-one different States; they are acknowledged and quotations given from as many of them as room will allow, on other pages herein. One interesting feature of this correspondence lies in the fact that about twenty colleges and educational institutions have requested that the Journal shall be sent regularly for their library.

After a free discussion, relating to the field of the Alliance, which was engaged in by Messrs. Kemp, Robbins, London, and other gentlemen, the meeting adjourned.

The April meeting of the Alliance was held on Thursday evening, April 13th, at the rooms on Washington square; Mr. Harrison presiding.

The President, in calling the meeting to order, said: "Gentlemen—Since our last monthly meeting we appear to have made progress. The *Bulletin*, published in Philadelphia, and the recognized organ of the

"American Iron and Steel Association," has paid us the compliment of noticing us, and criticising the lecture delivered by Prof. Sumner at our last public meeting. This is encouraging, and we are glad that Prof. Sumner has aided us in drawing the fire from such a large and influential body of men. We also have letters from various sources of an encouraging character, which the Secretary will read."

The Secretary made brief reference to the letters received since previous meeting, upwards of thirty in number, and from thirteen different States. Reading of extracts at length was deferred until the following week, when another meeting was announced to be held for general business and discussion.

Professor Sumner then gave the third lecture on the Tariff Controversy in the United States, which is printed in full in this number. The lecture elicited a number of questions which were aptly replied to by Professor Sumner, resulting in an animated discussion, in which Messrs. P. Ferez, R. R.

Bowker, T. T. Howard, Jr., Mr. Boucher and others participated.

M. Ferez, who introduced himself as a French republican, called to this country by the International Exhibition, said that the Emperor's settled policy of free trade, against the desires of French manufacturers, had resulted in enabling the manufacturers to compete successfully with England without protection. The Emperor said they "must have it," and this determination gave France an opportunity which the fluctuations of our popular mind denied to this country—the chief difficulty, he thought, of our governmental system.

Mr. Bowker replied, in behalf of the Alliance, that it hoped to develop in America that fixity of purpose which the unerring will of a despotic ruler gave, sometimes for good, but oftener for ill, to France, by enlightening and fixing the popular mind by the one great panacea of democratic ills—education. Education was the one word that defined the purpose and hope of the Alliance.

BOSTON FREE TRADE CLUB.

The Boston Free Trade Club held its March meeting the same evening at No. 31 Equitable Building, President William Downie in the chair. The death of Hon. Reverdy Johnson, one of the Advisory Committee was reported and resolutions of sorrow passed. Hon. Horace White was unanimously elected to fill the vacancy, a letter of acceptance from him being read. Forty-one new members were then elected. The

feature of the evening was an essay from Hon. Nath. Hinckley; who took ground against a tariff, either for revenue or protection. After a vote of thanks to Mr. Hinckley, the Club adjourned till the second Thursday in April. The April meeting was to be addressed by Professor Perry, of Williams College, but we have no minutes as we go to press.

GOOD BOOKS TO OWN.

We present herewith brief notes as to books on Free Trade and on Protection—the candid thinker will hear both sides—and on kindred subjects, which those who desire the spread of economic truths will do well to read, to own, and to lend. These books may be had through any bookseller, or from the publishers direct, or through the Alliance itself, which is willing to send to

those getting subscribers to the *NEW CENTURY* any books selected, to the amount of forty cents' worth on every dollar subscription forwarded.

Elementary Books.—Prof. Rogers' "Social Economy" (Putnam's, 12mo, pp. 167, 75 cts.) is a plain, readable exposition of social science.

Mrs. Fawcett's "Political Economy for

Beginners" (Macmillan, 16mo, \$1) is clear and telling. Her "Tales in Political Economy" (same, f. cap. 8vo, \$1) are charming illustrations of leading principles.

Standard Works.—Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" (Putnam, 8vo, \$2.50) is the foundation of free trade.

Bastiat's works ("Sophisms of Protection," with preface by Horace White—Putnam, 12mo, \$1; "Essays on Political Economy," 16mo, \$1; Complete works, in French, Christern, 7 vols., \$9.80) are the most entertaining on the subject, lucid and forcible.

John Stuart Mill's "Political Economy" (Appleton, 2 vols., 8vo, \$4) is the leading

modern work. His other works (Holt, \$2.50 per vol.) have direct bearings on the subject, those on "Representative Government," and on "Liberty" and "The Subjection of Women," being of especial value to political students.

The Protective Side.—Carey's "Social Science" (Lippincott, 3 vols., 8vo, \$10) is the strongest philosophical work upholding protection. A "Manual," condensed from this, is published at \$2.25.

Finance.—Prof. Sumner's "History of American Currency" (Holt, 8vo, \$3) is clear, bright, gives all the facts from colonial times, and contains the English "Bullion Report."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of letters from the following correspondents. They number about eighty—from twenty-four different States:

Maine—Edward W. Hall, Waterville; Richard C. Stanley, Prof. Political Economy, Bates College, Lewiston.

New Hampshire—C. W. Scott, Hanover.

Massachusetts—Wm. Downie, Pres. Boston Free Trade Club; Chas. P. Britton, New England Review, Boston.

Connecticut—H. T. Blake, Bridgeport.

New York—Edwin Crane, Fort Edward (2); John B. Jarvis, Rome; Levi Miller, Antwerp; M. S. Bidwell, Elmira; S. A. Wheelwright, New York; F. Butler, Albion; C. D. Hudson, Troy; D. H. Cochrane, Brooklyn; M. K. A. Benchley, Ithaca; Samuel Hotchkiss, Elmira.

Ohio—M. H. Scott, Athens; James A. Clark, Xenia; H. T. Eddy, Cincinnati; Wm. Pettingill, Hudson.

Indiana—M. V. Galbreath, Hebron (2); H. M. Williams, Fort Wayne.

Illinois—John G. Farris, Henry; S. H. Harrison, Montrose; Geo. W. Minier, Minier; D. M. Johnson, Wheaton; S. T. K. Prime, Dwight (2); W. B. Fyfe, Pontiac; Fred. B. Ward, Orion; A. Gilkeson, Chicago.

Iowa—Albion N. Fellows, Iowa City; Benjamin C. Earle, Davenport (2); Jas. M. Gow, Fontanelle; John Gray, Jefferson; John A. Story, Greenfield; O. Perkins, Durant; Prof. A. N. Carrier, Iowa City; Ray Billingsley, Iowa City.

Michigan—D. W. Richardson, Standish

(2); T. D. Hawley, Detroit; Prof. Andrew Ten Broeck, Ann Arbor.

Missouri—Clarke Irvine, Oregon (2).

Wisconsin—J. J. Hagerman, Milwaukee (2); J. W. Mills, Lancaster; Rowley Morris, Brodhead; W. H. Whitney, Mazo Manie; F. W. Lyman, Kenosha; J. E. Follett, Milwaukee; H. A. Tenney, Madison; E. H. Benton, Leroy, Dodge Co.; S. D. Carpenter, Madison; John C. Hall, Monroe.

Minnesota—Hon. James Bottomly, Nashville Centre; F. H. Widstrand, Lake Constance.

Kansas—G. W. Spurgeon, Jacksonville; Charles Disbrow, Clay Centre; H. G. Nicola, Elgin; Frank A. Prather, Wellsville.

Nebraska—Jas. Urquhart, Marshall.

Colorado—John Williamson, Glen Plyn, near Denver.

District of Columbia—M. H. Muhleman, Washington.

Maryland—William G. Harrison, Baltimore.

West Virginia—Henry Bryan, Grafton.

Kentucky—James G. Haswell, Hardinsburgh; Titus Holmes, Bedford (2); L. V. Dodge, Berea.

Mississippi—C. W. Sears, Oxford; V. H. Fugate, M. D., Vaughan's Station.

Louisiana—Thomas D. Boyd, Baton Rouge.

Texas—John Warner, Trinity Mills; F. A. Mood, D. D., Southwestern University, Georgetown.

California—J. C. Rowell, Oakland.

Oregon—Jas. W. Marsh, Pacific University, Forest Grove; Jos. Emery, Corvallis College, Corvallis.

Canada—R. J. McDowell, Demarestville.

INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE.

THIS organization has been formed for the purpose of promoting industrial and commercial freedom—absolute freedom in exchanging the productions of industry with all the world.

WE HOLD, That freedom in Trade and Commerce—freedom in exchanging the productions of our agricultural and manufacturing industries with those of other countries—is as necessary to the prosperity of the nation, as freedom in producing is to the individual. That it is a principle essential to our American liberty which cannot be violated without injury and danger to our institutions, and should never be infringed upon by the government except when absolutely and unavoidably necessary.

WE HOLD, That comfort, wealth, civilization, and the welfare of mankind are directly promoted and increased by exchanging the products of labor between individuals, and states, and nations. That farmers, or mechanics, or any other producers do not promote their own welfare by keeping more than they need of anything which they have produced, but by exchanging the surplus in purchasing whatever they desire of things produced by others, wherever they can do so most advantageously to themselves. That as a people, we are not free, in so far as the liberty to make such exchanges—such sales and purchases—is restricted by the arbitrary power of government.

WE HOLD, That the Custom House system of obtaining national revenue, violates the principles of American liberty, fosters international prejudices, is hurtful to republicanism, and hinders the growth of peace and good-will among men. That it interferes with and injures lawful business, which is constantly the subject of sudden and arbitrary changes in the tariff. That it is a formidable obstacle in the way of our national prosperity, and the pursuit of useful and honorable enterprise. That it has for many years been one of the most fruitful causes of sectional irritation and animosity. That it is a wasteful and unjust method of obtaining revenue, in causing the people to pay, in cost of living, an enormously greater amount than ever reaches the treasury. That it is a constant and strong incentive to bribery, corruption and smuggling, which are ruinous to honest merchants. That it affords excuse for employing a very large number of officials, who control political and party machinery, and whose influence prevents the first step in Civil Service Reform.

The efforts of the ALLIANCE will be directed towards obtaining ABSOLUTE FREEDOM IN TRADE AND COMMERCE by abandoning the Custom House revenue system, as soon as it can be done without injury to the best interests of the people; providing for the necessary expenses of government by a just, undi-guised, and economical method of TAXATION; and ensuring CIVIL SERVICE REFORM by reducing the multitude of offices now existing, but which will then be no longer necessary.

The work of the Alliance will be prosecuted by appealing to the intelligent common sense of the people through the Press, and by public meetings.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.

Free to all who approve the principles and will join in the work of the Alliance.

The payment of one dollar per annum will entitle the subscriber to one copy of each of the publications of the Alliance

Contributions of ten dollars per annum are solicited from those who are willing to aid in promoting the objects of the Alliance.

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THE NEW CENTURY,

A MONTHLY JOURNAL

FOR PROMOTING

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL FREEDOM

AND

POLITICO-ECONOMIC REFORM.

There is nothing to be deprecated and denounced more than the ignorance, caprice and selfishness manifested in the changes or threatened changes in international trade, which are brought up in Congress at every session, and are so agitated as to derange the most prudent calculations of business men, inevitably injuring the producing interests of the whole country.

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DOUBLE NUMBER, 6 & 7.]

ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM.

[MAY & JUNE.

THE
NEW CENTURY;

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE
FOR PROMOTING
INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL FREEDOM
AND
POLITICO-ECONOMIC REFORM.



PUBLISHED FOR THE
INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE
BY
A. D. F. RANDOLPH & CO.,
900 Broadway, New York.

1876.

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The New Century.

THE MEANS OF REFORM.

It is interesting and gratifying to observe the extent to which the numerous political conventions throughout the country have been, professedly at least, animated by the watchword, Reform. Though we have but little confidence in the plans for reformation which they adopt or advocate, and though we recognize the tendency prevalent among them to be contented with simply uttering the cry, we value them so far as their utterances are the expressions of a popular demand for improvement in the government. We are sorry to see that the Republican National Convention, in its desire at once to conciliate the Pennsylvania element of its power, and to evade, as far as possible, a difficult issue, has fallen into the two common pastime of juggling words to mean whatever each man wishes; of course its declaration of principles must be counted in favor of a protective tariff, though the ablest and purest men of its own body oppose it utterly.

But even the Fifth avenue conference itself, admirable as was its spirit, contented itself with too little, and failed to strike at the root of the existing Federal evil. It resembled all the other political conferences in that it virtually stopped at the consideration of candidates for an executive office. It acted upon the supposition that, to secure reform, it was only necessary to secure an honest and capable President. This is a cardinal mistake.

To our mind, the most penetrating utterance at the conference was the words of Prof. Sumner. He forcibly indicated the defect in its proceedings when he said—"Gentlemen, you are dealing with the symptoms and not the causes of the disease." This is the point. Our mal-administration is the result of a vice in the governmental scheme; and the disease of corruption can be cured only when the people, instead of occupying themselves solely with the symptoms, and ignoring the causes, give their direct attention to the destruction of those causes.

Let us not be understood as underrating the value of an honest administration. Instead of disparaging the effort to procure it, we fully admit the necessity of having it before any very good results can be ob-



tained ; but we contend that it cannot be had under existing conditions. It must follow a revision of the national policy. Our civil service cannot be reformed in its present dimensions. So long as it remains large and complicated ; so long as its members are afforded such opportunity to be dishonest and to conceal their guilt ; and, above all, so long as the laws, under which it exists, and which it has to execute, are themselves essentially immoral, it will inevitably be corrupt. Laws can be honestly administered only when they are just ; that is, designed to promote the rightful liberty of all individuals equally. This our tariff laws are not ; they are the nursery of an admitted and shameful favoritism.

We shall cease to have an evil civil service only when we cease to have any resembling the present one in size and system. Our method of collecting the federal revenues must be radically changed before we can attain the desired reform.

This will be done when our legislative bodies are composed of men who have conscientiously and intelligently attacked and solved the economic problems which present themselves to the legislator. The first necessity for the United States is that its law-making bodies be reformed. Then will there be hope for honesty in its law-executing functions. We shall have good legislation when the people are honest enough and wise enough to choose the proper legislators. The government is of the people's own selection, and represents pretty nearly the average popular mind.

It is to the people then that the reformer must appeal. Just so fast as they are educated to an apprehension of correct economic principles, will these principles find expression in their laws. Clearly the road to reform leads through the slow but sure process of education. It is Utopian to expect that the government will be in advance of the people. Laws are the results of societies and not societies the results of law. Let every man then who desires to help the cause of freedom in trade and purity in administration, turn to the people and enter intelligently upon his work. It is not enough that he should proclaim his own views ; he should give his reasons for holding them, and show that they may be intelligently defended, and he should have patience, remembering that the only sure reform is that which is a natural growth, and therefore slow. If only those who already feel the evil of our tariff system, and see the right that underlies the cause of Free Trade, will frankly proclaim themselves and go earnestly to work for that cause, we shall very soon witness the beginning of the end.

HISTORY OF PROTECTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY PROFESSOR W. G. SUMNER.

(Concluding lecture, delivered at the May meeting of the Alliance.)

At the point which I have now reached, in my review of the history of protection in the United States, it is necessary to observe that the original prejudice of the Americans in favor of liberty of every kind had been crushed out as regards trade. The frequent changes of the tariff had educated the generation which had grown up since the second war to the dogmas and fallacies of protection. These had been preached assiduously by Niles and Carey, and being plausible and popular, and falling in with national prejudices, they had gained great currency. There had, indeed, been no argument for the other side. We are familiar with the fact that a special interest finds ardent advocates and energetic workers, while the public interest lacks defenders.

In 1829, Condy Raguet commenced the publication of the *Free Trade Advocate*, in which he published some of the best writing on financial and economic topics ever produced on this side the water. He wrote above his readers, for whose minds Niles' style and arguments were much better adapted, and his journal soon expired. He continued his work in another journal, called the *Banner of the Constitution*, for some time longer.

Another fact, which it is important to observe for a correct understanding of the movement in this country towards protectionism, is the great prosperity which was enjoyed here from the second war until 1837. The advantages of the new country were, of course, enormous, and every improvement in transportation and every new invention tended to bring them within reach. The losses inflicted by a bad tariff belonged in the great margin of what might have been. The people had not lost something which they once had. They had fallen short of something which they might have possessed for the labor they had expended. This is something which people are slow to understand. Rob them of a good which they have possessed, or diminish comforts to which they have been accustomed, and they feel it. They are slower to understand that a given amount of labor might have produced, under a given condition of society, a certain result, and that they have fallen short of it. Such, however, is the correct statement of the effect of any tariff system, and the American people have always been slow to understand it, because they have enjoyed so much, and have been growing in comfort so steadily, that they could almost afford to be indifferent to something still better.

In 1830, this prosperity was pointed to in vindication of the tariff system, and with great popular effect. The fact was that the circumstances were so favorable that legislation could only lessen, not cripple, the advantages, but it was said that the tariff had caused all the prosperity, and hence the argument was: Let us have more. In the session of

1830-31 some efforts were made to strengthen the tariff of 1828. For instance, it was proposed to repeal the provision that the tax on salt should be reduced from 10 to 5 cents, January 1, 1832, and to raise it to 15 cents.

In the fall of 1831, two national conventions, one of protectionists and one of free traders, were held. The free traders met at Philadelphia, September 30, and published a clear and sound address, setting forth the simple principles, which are all mere truisms, and must rely on common sense for their effect. The effect seems to have been very slight. The Tariff convention met at New York, Oct. 26. It published an address, and appointed committees to collect and publish "reports" on various industries. The address consisted of bad political economy and the usual special pleas to bar the common sense application of simple principles. As a specimen, I quote a single sentence: "Nations are adversary to each other. Their commercial intercourse is regulated by treaties always made with a view to relative advantages, and to provide for those hostilities which are of perpetual occurrence." The "reports" offered jumbled and immaterial statistics about amounts produced and amounts imported, and had their corner-stone in one on "the balance of trade" view of the currency. They all talk of the calamity of buying without selling, an operation which we are accustomed to call, in the rare cases when we experience it, receiving presents, and they go into hysterics about the damage endured from foreigners who send their surplus stocks here and sacrifice them at auction, which is only declaiming against cheapness.

In the session of 1831-2, a presidential election approaching, the whole subject came up again. The Committee on Ways and Means presented a majority and minority report, with bills. The Committee on Manufactures proposed a high tariff revision. The Secretary of the Treasury reported a more moderate bill. The Senate also had a bill. There were also numerous amendments. The result was a remodeled tariff adjusted to suit the protective policy, signed July 14, 1832.

This, then, was the answer to Southern protests. The Southern position was doubly unfortunate. In the first place, they insisted on the unconstitutionality of the tariff, and sought nullification as a remedy. This complicated their position with the most difficult and vital constitutional questions. In the second place, they did not fight intelligently for free trade, nor yet for a revenue tariff. They wanted a "horizontal tariff," and *ad valorem* duties. South Carolina called a convention in November, 1832, and persisted in movements towards nullifying the tariff. The President met them with a proclamation setting forth his duty and intentions. Congress met again in that year with the question of tariff in the first place of interest. A bill introduced by Mr. Verplanck was intended to conciliate. Many and serious amendments altering its character were introduced, and the whole winter was spent in struggles over them. Suddenly, near the end of the session, Mr. Clay proposed another bill to

supersede them all. Mr. Calhoun had quarreled with the President, and had been thrown into opposition, and he and Mr. Clay arranged the compromise under circumstances which are differently stated by different authorities. The day before that on which the Act of July was to go into operation, March 2, 1833, this compromise tariff was signed by the President. It provided that the taxes fixed by the tariff of 1832, so far as the *ad valorem* rates exceeded twenty per cent., should be reduced by one-tenth of the excess over twenty per cent. on the first of January in each alternate year until 1841. In that year they were to be reduced one-half of the remaining excess, and in 1842, were to be reduced to twenty per cent. This would issue, of course, in a horizontal tariff at that rate. This bill also shortened the period of credits on imports, and raised the custom house valuation of the sovereign to \$4.80. The reduction operated only slowly. It started from the stringent high tariff of 1832, and the "horizontal" tariff had no principle of protection, or free trade, or revenue in it. The compromise was a pure political makeshift, in which the public and private interests had no consideration.

Now, one looks with great interest through the history of the subsequent years to see if manufactures died out. One expects lugubrious descriptions of disasters from the protectionist journals. Nothing of this kind, however, is to be found. Niles drops his long essays. The subject disappears from his columns. No disasters take place. The woes of the woollen men are forgotten. The simple fact is that when Congress had put the question aside, the manufacturers ceased to carry on their business in the lobby, but attended to it at home. They probably found this more profitable. At any rate they prospered, and the whole country prospered steadily until the currency errors came in once more to produce disaster.

The panic of 1837, and the bank crash of 1839, spread ruin throughout the country. This is not the place to speak of the causes or relations of this disaster. Suffice it to say, that great amounts of capital had been invested here by Europeans during the last decade, and that a vast indebtedness had been incurred on a bank inflation. The capital had been largely invested in internal improvements carried on by a kind of mania. These works were often unwisely undertaken and extravagantly conducted. They offered no promise of profit. Correctly regarded, however, this disaster was the result of rash and ignorant abuse of exuberant natural advantages, but the abuse had been so excessive that the revulsion was terrible, and the country did not recover for five years.

I take no account here of the various attempts which were made during the period of the compromise to alter the duties, either directly or under the form of bills to secure the collection of the revenue. It is sufficient to say that there were several such attempts, and that the compromise did not run its course without signs of the old longing to legislate on this subject. The last years of the period, when the duties were lowest, fell in with the distress of 1837 to 1842. The old argument

of "hard times," therefore came up with renewed force in favor of more protection. People did not see that when a country like this, enjoying the greatest natural advantages, suffers distress, it is proof positive that artificial and legislative arrangements must have interfered injuriously with the play of natural laws. I cannot too strenuously insist upon this, in view of present circumstances. The soil of the earth furnishes the necessaries and comforts of life when man applies labor and capital to get them out of it. If one man has much land at his disposal, he can get abundance with little labor. He pays all the persons engaged in manufactures, trade, transportation and personal services out of his abundance, for saving him from loss, or doing part of his work for him, or contributing to his comfort and advantage. This is a simple statement of the economic organization of modern society. It regulates itself perfectly. The natural laws, the law of value, the law of exchange, the principle of free contract, are sufficient to keep the whole system in harmonious operation. If the resources of the soil are inadequate to the demands, either because population is excessive or the soil poor, the way of escape is by emigration or an improvement in the arts; but if the soil is rich, and the population meager, and yet there is distress, the place to look for the causes is in the artificial arrangements of man. We must have misapprehended the laws of nature which govern economic circumstances, and put our legislative enactments out of joint with them. The way out of trouble lies in a closer study of the science of economy, and a more correct adjustment of our arrangements to the laws which it teaches. The general custom of man is, however, to try to correct one bad arrangement by another, to put another cog, or another lever, or another spring, into the machine, never remembering that he thus simply increases the friction, and lessens the force which he had before. It has long been generally known that we cannot invent a perpetual motion, because it is making something out of nothing, but in social and economic arrangements, analogous efforts are still continually made. So it was in 1842. Distress prevailing, it was supposed to be the business of government to remove distress. What else, it was asked, did government exist for? It was a paternal, fostering institution. To be sure, the persons who composed it as individuals, enjoyed, with a few exceptions, but little respect. The functions which legitimately belonged to government were notoriously ill-performed. It did worse, and at far greater expense, whatever it tried to do, than any person or corporation in the country. If it possessed any occult force, or any superior intelligence, or any improved machinery for getting what men want in this world, it certainly kept it secret and produced no proofs of it. Yet the superstition of government, then and still strong amongst us, led people to look to government to do for them what they could only do for themselves by industry and economy.

The whigs entertained the general conception that government demeaned itself when it narrowed its own functions. They believed in the

paternal theory. They scorned all the notions which had prevailed in the government for twelve years, and, having won a victory in 1840, they were eager to put their own theory in practice. They passed a bill for distributing the proceeds of the public lands amongst the States, thus stripping the government of a legitimate source of revenue; but it was provided that this distribution should not take place when duties were above twenty per cent. At the next session (1842) they passed a provisional tariff with a clause repealing the limitation on distribution, but it was vetoed by Mr. Tyler. They then passed a permanent tariff, which he also vetoed; both on account of the repeal of the limitation on distribution. They then passed the tariff of August 30th, 1842, raising duties and cutting off distribution. This act turned back to protection. It was based on the tariff of 1832, but the duties were lower. The reviving industries of the country, consequent on the destruction of the bad currency, and the restoration of sound values, were pointed at as proofs of the success of this policy.

The arguments employed at this period offer nothing new. The notion, so prevalent in 1832, that high tariffs lower prices, and which was then affirmed as a broad and general truth, was little heard in 1842. The grounds put forward at the latter date were the old and worn out fallacies about imports and exports, balance of trade, drain of specie, &c., &c. A specimen from the report of the Committee on Manufactures may suffice: "There are several causes for the present depression of property and general stagnation of business, one of which will be admitted to be the large amount of our importations over the amount of exports. This depresses our home industry and draws from the country annually large balances in specie, crippling our banks and depriving them of the power to grant necessary facilities." A great part of the public documents of the United States consist in a reiteration and expansion of this paragraph, every clause of which contains errors which are refuted in any standard elementary text book on political economy. The importations cannot exceed the exportations over any period of time. If they do for a time, it is proof that they ought to, and it cannot produce any stagnation in business. If imported articles drive home manufactures out of the market, it only proves that the people are getting their supplies cheaper, and that that particular form of home industry is falling behind in the industrial race. We have only the alternative of letting the persons interested do as we all have to do, employ energy and skill to sustain themselves, or else rob ourselves to protect them in inferiority—that is to subsidize negligence, inefficiency and want of skill. The importations cannot "draw away specie" unless we part with it willingly; and if we do, we give up what is worth less for what is worth more. We cannot be robbed of specie except by an invading army, and if we give it up in trade, we give it up for a profit. No sound bank, which has not by its excessive issues injured commerce and industry, can be "crippled" by an export of

specie, and such an export is the proper protection of the public against the injury which excessive bank issues are doing. As for lessening the power of the banks to "grant necessary facilities," the committee are under that notion of banks which regards them as beneficent institutions whose function is to create capital for people who want it.

By the election of Polk in 1844 the South gained control of the government. In 1845 the cry was raised that the tariff was in danger. Meetings were held to protest against any change. The project of Mr. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury, was the old southern plan of horizontal rates and *ad valorem* duties. He divided nearly all imports into eight schedules with duties at 100, 40, 30, 25, 20, 15, 10 and 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. This bill passed the House 114 to 94, and the Senate 28 to 27, after a debate and a public excitement, different in kind but scarcely less in degree than that of 1832. The average rate of duty under it was 25½ per cent. on dutiable, until 1857. By the Act of March 3, 1857, the duties were lowered to an average rate of 20½ per cent on dutiable.

The period from 1846 to 1860 was our period of comparative free trade. The Sub-Treasury Act of 1846 removed subjects of currency and banking from national legislation. Thus these two topics were for a time laid aside. For an industrial history of the United States, no period presents greater interest than this. It was a period of very great and very solid prosperity. The tariff was bad and vexatious in many ways, if we regard it from the standpoint either of free trade or revenue tariff, but its rates were low and its effects limited. It was called "a revenue tariff with incidental protection." The manufactures which, it had been said, would perish, did not perish, and did not gain sudden and exorbitant profits. They made steady and genuine progress. The repeal of the English corn laws in 1846 opened a large market for American agricultural products, and took away the old argument which Niles and Carey had used with such force, that England wanted other countries to have free trade, but would not take their products. The effect on both countries was most happy. It seemed as if the old system was gone forever, and that these two great nations, with free industry and free trade, were to pour increased wealth upon each other. The fierce dogmatism of protection and its deeply-rooted prejudices seemed to have undergone a fatal blow. Our shipping rapidly increased. Our cotton crop grew larger and larger. The discovery of gold in California added mightily to the expansion of prosperity. The states indeed repeated our old currency follies, and the panic of 1857 resulted, but it was only a stumble in a career of headlong prosperity. We recovered from it in a twelvemonth. Slavery agitation marked this period politically, and if people look back to it now they think most of that; but industrially and economically, and I will add also, in the administration of the government, the period from the Mexican to the civil war is our golden age, if we have any. There was simplicity, even to dullness, in national affairs. It was one of those happy

periods when a nation has little history. As far as the balance of trade is concerned, it never was more regular and equal than in this period.

The Act of March 3, 1857, was called for, because the revenue had risen beyond the necessities of the government, and the debt had been reduced to an insignificant sum. The bill lowered duties about one quarter, and applied especially to raw materials of manufacture. In the debate, however, strong opposition to it was aroused, and no little old protectionism was called out. The West objected to the reduction on raw materials, especially wool, hemp and lead, which they produced, and threatened to resist the incidental protection to Eastern manufactures. This brought out the weakness and error of incidental protection in strong light. So long as there is *any* protection the argument is sure to arise under this form. Those who are not protected demand that revenue be raised from products similar to theirs in order to give them a share in the incidental benefit. In short we are forced either to protect all or to protect none, and we see distinctly that there is no safe position to take except that of total opposition to all protection. If we lay any duties which act protectively, we must offset them by excise taxes, that no benefit may accrue.

Congress was divided in 1857 between two policies for the reduction of revenue, and was embarrassed by a novel difficulty in legislation, that of getting rid of a surplus which threatened worse demoralization than any public debt. It was then fully perceived that by reducing taxes revenue was increased. The tariff of '46 had been estimated to yield about twenty millions. The receipts from it in 1856 were over sixty millions. It was therefore urged that, to reduce revenue, duties ought to be raised and used for protection.

The panic of 1857, of course, reduced imports and lessened revenue. In 1858 there was a recovery, which was still greater in 1859. In 1860 political troubles produced another reduction. The expenses of the government in the meantime increased and a deficit arose. This formed the basis for the new effort to increase duties. The real motive, however, was political. The Republican party wanted to make sure of Pennsylvania. That state was aware of its value to the Union and to the party in question. As a member of the Confederation, no one would have esteemed it less than any other, but it was still in the position of a member of the family who wants to live on the contributions of the others. It added to the incongruity of the situation that this member claimed to be possessed of means of wealth surpassing all the others, but he could not get a living out of them. He would not be idle either, but insisted on sinking capital in unproductive enterprises and calling on his brethren to make up his losses.

The Republican party made the bargain. Mr. Morrill introduced his tariff in the House, March 12th, 1860, and it was passed. The Senate postponed it to the next session. In June, the Chicago Convention

adopted a tariff plank. The bill came up at the next session and passed the Senate February 20th, 1861, by a vote of 25 to 14, seven Southern States having, up to that time, seceded. The bill passed the House promptly by a large vote, and was signed March 2d, 1861. It went into operation April 1st. It raised duties from the tariff of 1857 about one-third. The debate hinged upon revenue almost entirely and showed the result of fourteen years' education in comparative free trade.

This fact is well worth observing. Ten to fifteen years suffice to change the voting population and to educate a generation in one set of ideas or another. Thus the traditions of one policy secure a certain stability within that period and men lose memory of any other. It is always difficult for men to realize in imagination, or by description, a social condition other than that they have experienced. The power to do this is only acquired by study and travel. Hence it is to-day that most people acquiesce in the paper money and protectionist fallacies to which we have, as a generation, become accustomed.

The Morrill tariff does not call for any extended notice, because it only lasted four months. A new act became a law on August 5th, 1861, which raised duties from the date of its passage. It was a revenue act, but contained many protectionist jobs. The immediate result was that it produced effects on trade which legislators, inexperienced in this department and ignorant of the laws of taxation, did not foresee, and it stimulated numberless efforts to secure for other "interests" similar advantages. Another act of December 24th, 1861, increased the taxes on tea, coffee and sugar.

In 1862 the internal taxes were laid. They were extended from time to time without method or intelligence, but they proved conclusively enough that that system of taxation is perfectly feasible in this country, and that, on a system adjusted to the best modern principles of taxation, it could be used here as well or better than anywhere else in the world. It was unpopular and produced grumbling, which is one of its chief recommendations, because people knew what they were paying, and they were guarded against the apathy which characterizes them in regard to import duties. The latter are far more mischievous, but are paid unconsciously. The time will come, in the advance of enlightenment, when men will demand to be allowed to conduct their business in entire freedom, so as to make as much as they can, and then pay taxes which they must pay out of the net proceeds, and when they would as soon let the grocer and butcher draw on their bank accounts without presenting a bill, as let the government put its hands in their pockets for taxes when they do not know it. It would be an amusing experiment if this government should for a year exact by internal taxes without duties the same sum which the tariff now costs us, and then pay in bounties to the protected interests the sum which they now get.

The Act of July 14, 1862, raised duties "temporarily." The joint

resolution of April 29th, 1864, raised all duties fifty per cent. for sixty days, afterwards extended to ninety. The Act of June 30th, 1864, was a general revision for revenue and protection. It was represented as a necessary offset to the internal duties and as a temporary war tariff. The Act of March 3d, 1865, again extended and complicated the system by more minute subdivisions and classifications and by enhanced rates. It involved a number of tricks and devices intended to have an effect which could not be foreseen, and was a reckless exertion of the powers which had been rediscovered as latent in this kind of legislation. The Act of July 28th, 1866, revised and strengthened the last act, by various provisions intended to clinch its operation.

These are the acts which belong directly to the war period. The people were busy in war making; their attention was absorbed in that direction. Congress itself was so absorbed in this business that the questions involved in tariff did not obtain consideration. The necessity of getting revenue was paramount, and there was no scientific knowledge of the principles of taxation to govern the attempt. The only system employed was to tax everything, and if more revenue was wanted, to tax more heavily. The people submitted patriotically, because they thought it necessary. The abundance of paper money, with rising prices and great speculation, created enormous fortunes and produced a semblance of prosperity. People thought that millions of men could leave industry and go to destroying capital, and yet the nation get rich. Under such circumstances the natural consequence was that the social parasites found a grand opportunity. We must distinguish here two kinds of protection; the doctrinaire protection of Clay, Niles, Carey and Greeley, which was *bona fide* belief in the doctrine as a theory of national wealth, and the interested protection of cliques and individuals, who employ the system only for selfish ends. The latter was the kind which arose here ten years ago and under which we are now living. We enjoyed the services, as national legislators, of Mr. Morrell and Mr. Stevens, Pennsylvania iron masters; Mr. McCarthy, for the New York Salt Works; Mr. Morrill, for the Vermont sheep raisers. Our Congress was beset by lobbyists, who found it easier to speculate by moving legislation than by cornering the market; and to look at our legislation it seemed that we were a confederation only for the sake of holding a grand scramble at Washington to see which section and which interest should worst plunder the rest.

The system was elaborated as a "temporary" system—as a war measure—like the paper money, and we have been living under it ever since. Too many people find their interest in sustaining it to let it fall without a struggle, on behalf of the great public which elects all the Congressmen, but finds few representatives. The internal taxes, which formed the excuse for a large part of the advance in duties have been gradually abolished, and the whole weight of destructive restraint is left to fall on the industries of the country. Evidently the whole policy was erroneous

and false, even from the point of view adopted. In going into a great war, the nation wanted its powers free. It wanted cheapness and abundance then, if ever. It wanted the maximum of revenue according to the most approved methods of obtaining it. It was no time to re-undertake the task of encouraging industries, even if that ever was wise, and I believe that the historian, when he comes to criticise this period in our history, will say that the welfare of a great nation never was so recklessly sacrificed by ignorant empiricism in legislation, nor the patriotism of a great people ever so wantonly abused, as in the tariff legislation of our war. Our position then and since as to tariff and paper money always reminds me of one of the blessings of Jacob: "Issachar is a strong ass, bowed down between two burdens. And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant, and bowed his shoulders to bear, and became a servant unto tribute."

I come now, however, to the most shameful chapter in the whole story. In 1867, the woolen manufacturers being dissatisfied with the protection they enjoyed, held a convention at Syracuse to exert the influence which was due to the importance of their industry on legislation. Upon their arrival, they met with an unexpected obstacle. Lo! there were also the representatives of the wool-growers. These latter had come to watch and to say that they must be counted in. Obviously, the path of wisdom lay in an alliance. An adjustment to satisfy the wool-growers was made, and the tax on woolens was put enough higher to allow for this. The tariff there concocted was enacted into a law March 2d, 1867. It consisted of a minute classification, and a complicated graduated rate which has tormented the woolen industry ever since. In 1868 and 1869, we saw mutton a drug on the market at 8 and 9 cts., when beef was 20. The farmers who had been deluded into relying on tariffs to produce wealth, found that they had to send their sheep to slaughter.

The woolen interest profited no better. They had to import dirt from Australia when they wanted wool. If the price advanced, or any turn of exchange or item of cost carried the total cost over 12 cts., they found a higher rate of duty exacted, and the importation unprofitable. When they turned to the home supply they found that it was all on one grade, and that they were deprived of the advantage of mixing wools to make various fabrics. Mills were started by ignorant and inexperienced persons in improper places, and the supply of cloth, all on one grade, glutted the market. In 1869 a crisis in the industry occurred, with numerous failures. Mills were sold out for a fraction of their cost. New proprietors started, with a smaller capital account, and there has since been nothing but a struggling and unremunerative existence for this industry.

In 1870 the first reduction of duties took place, and it was on the debate of this bill that the old divergence as to the principle of protection reappeared. The sections and interests were so completely included in the sys-

tem that there was little clear, complete and outspoken advocacy of free trade, such as the South used to offer. Almost every member had a reservation in favor of the interest of his own district. It only proves again that the system must be assailed as a whole. Pig iron was reduced from \$9 to \$7 per ton. The other reductions were chiefly on tea, coffee, sugar, spices, wines and fruits, things which ought to bear taxes if anything does. In 1872, 10 per cent. was taken from the duty on some of the most important articles in the tariff, but the amount was restored in the session of 1874-5, by what was called the "little tariff" bill. The tariff now contains 1,500 articles and specifications. In 1874 the average rate was equivalent to 38½ per cent. on dutiable imports.

In the mean time American shipping had ceased to be. Other nations bought shipping and sailed it at a profit, if they could not build it. We prohibited this. Nevertheless, under even this utmost exertion of the restrictive system, the revival of our shipping, longingly looked for and often promised, never came. Our flag is kept afloat by one or two subsidized lines, and by one on a course which other shipowners have abandoned as unprofitable. Perhaps the Pacific Mail Line enlists the pride of Americans. From time to time it is proposed to go on and subsidize ships, in order to force the long-desired revival. This is consistent at least. Having taxed tonnage in foreign trade out of existence, and forbidden the transfer of foreign built ships to American registers in order to spite the shipowners who abandoned our flag during the war, we now propose to tax agriculture and commerce back again to provide a fund for subsidizing ships.

Our exports have likewise been killed by the inevitable operation of the tariff. We no longer offer a market and cannot attract miscellaneous orders. We cannot export to countries whose products we do not take. We cannot trade directly with South America, the East Indies, or Australia, even for the exports in which we could doubtless compete in those markets, because we refuse to take their products. We cannot make round voyages because no one could tell what would be done with the tariff at home during the interval which must elapse. Our manufacturers having secured the home market, find that the home market becomes a restraint, not an advantage, and they move out of the country in order to get rid of the trammels of the tariff while working for export. Our own sewing machines are provided for foreign nations cheaper than we can get them ourselves. The system has been pushed so far, and its complicated developments have become so interlocked with each other that the protective system is to-day a dead weight on all the production of the country of every kind. Its complete overthrow would be a grand emancipation for manufactures as well as for everything else.

How far we yet are from anything like this movement was shown a few weeks ago by the proposition gravely made, and, it appears, gravely entertained at Washington, to lay discriminating duties so as to bear on

the civil war in the Island of Cuba. The taxing power is the greatest engine controlled by governments, and it has been used or abused to aid temperance, to restrain luxury, to put down slavery (the English discriminating duties on slave-grown sugar), to coerce belligerents in favor of neutrals, and, in this last case, is proposed to accomplish an interference in a foreign struggle with which we could not interfere justifiably in any way.

This completes the hasty review which I have been able, under the circumstances, to give of the history of our tariff legislation. Some things seem to follow from it so evidently that no one can contradict them.

In the first place this notion that there is some means to increase, by an adjustment of taxes, the wealth of a country has had a very full trial amongst us. It was inherited by us from older countries, in which the pressure of population on the means of subsistence was great, and the idea of the functions of government wide. It was hostile to all the beliefs and habits of thought of the American people. It was totally incongruous with the social and political system which they established. It was reluctantly admitted under the idea that a new country may need some stimulus and assistance at the outset. In this view it is forgotten that the stimulus must come from without to be of any use, and that, if it is sought within, it can only be obtained by depressing one part to develop another. Nothing is created by the system, nor ever can be. It is only another instance of the folly which we continually commit of trying to make something out of nothing, or to lift ourselves by our bootstraps. As I have shown, the curtailment and depression fell in the United States on agriculture. In England it fell on manufactures for the benefit of agriculture, and in any country, old or new, the doctrine holds absolutely, that whatever means of wealth it has, and whatever the kind may be, they work up to their maximum when they work freely.

The Americans adopted the notion, however, that they could, by a few years of self-denial, get certain industries started, which would then "go alone" and become independent sources of wealth. I not only affirm on the grounds of reason and science that such a theory is absurd and fallacious, but I now appeal to the century of history as a complete proof that there is something wrong and false about this theory. Where are the results? Instead of strong, independent industries, we have to-day only a hungry and clamorous crowd of "infants." We are told that our country is rich in everything good for man, and every new discovery of natural sources of wealth is made the ground, not of greater abundance and less labor, but of greater scarcity and greater labor. Find a mine of copper in the United States, and it is an argument for making it harder for the people of the United States to get copper than before. We used to get emery to supply all our wants by giving wheat and cotton for it; we

did not know we had any. At length a bed of ore was found in Massachusetts, and the first step was to get legislation to make the American people give more wheat and tobacco for emery than before. The same applies to all our great resources, until it might be worth while to calculate how much more iron, coal, copper and lead the people of the United States would have to-day, if there was not a particle of either under their soil, than they now possess. There is immense force, apparently, in the fallacy that we want "industries," when in fact we want goods to supply our needs; in the idea that we want work, when in fact we want leisure. We are trying to sustain life on the face of the earth, and we find it hard work. All our discoveries and inventions have for their object to make it easier; that is, to get more goods for the same labor, and to sustain more, or more highly developed, men. For this we want leisure from drudgery, as the first and most imperative requisite. Therefore, everything which gets the goods and lessens the labor is an advance in civilization; and everything which makes more labor necessary to get the goods tends to barbarism. Labor for material good is simply a gross necessity, which we are all the time trying to conquer in order to get leisure for pleasanter and higher occupation, and, above all else, it follows that those whose lives are all spent in drudgery over material needs are most clogged in their efforts for emancipation by everything which increases labor. Hence this aim with which the early American statesmen set out has proved a chimera. The further we follow it, the further it leads us. We get more industry and less good.

It follows, secondly, from this history that this continual law-making about industry has been prolific of industrial and political mischief. It has tainted our political life with log-rolling, presidential wire-pulling, lobbying and custom house politics. It has been intertwined with currency errors all the way along. It has created privileged classes in the free American community, who were saved from the risks and dangers of business to which the rest of us are liable. It has controlled the election of Congressmen, and put inferior men in office, whose inferiority has reacted upon the nation in worse and worse legislation. Just now we are undergoing a spasm of indignation at official corruption, and we want to reform the civil service, but there is only one way to accomplish that, and that is to cut up the whole system which has made the civil service what it is. It is of little use to cut off the tops of the weeds and leave the roots in the ground. When the shower passes over they will grow up stouter than ever.

I have presented the subject to you historically, because it is the method of treatment in which I have the most confidence. It is to history that we must look for the facts which teach us social and economic laws, and form the basis of any positive treatment of social questions. For a full exposition it would be necessary to follow the industrial history of the country, but the materials for such a history of this country are

not in a shape to be available, if indeed they exist. We have enough, however, to show us that we are living here under immutable and inexorable laws of the social organization. We cannot cheat those laws, nor evade them. If we try to escape their operation in one point, they avenge themselves in another. We cannot manipulate the law of value, so as to make things exchange otherwise than in the ratio of supply and demand, without losing more one way than we gain another. We cannot legalize plunder under any guise whatever, without surely wasting wealth and impoverishing robbers and robbed together. We cannot arrange any system of gambling which will increase wealth, since wealth comes only from labor properly applied. We cannot employ the taxing power of the government to increase wealth, but only to diminish it. This is the world and human life as they are. The whole protectionist school, in its various grades, starts out with discontent with this world, and with *a priori* assumption in regard to the kind of world they would like to make. They are not contented to see what the natural chances of the country are and then to go to work to develop them. They make up their minds first what, in their wisdom, the country ought to be, and then they set to work to force it, with nature or against nature, into that form. They are not contented to see that the country affords by nature unexampled opportunities for man in agriculture and commerce. That is all as nothing if it cannot be one other thing also. They are not satisfied that it shall evidently be able to obtain all good things which the whole world produces by exchange, if not by production. They form to themselves dogmas about exchange, and will have nothing but by direct production, even though on the whole they have less. So they set to work to devise means to make the sort of country which they picture to themselves. We all sometimes grumble at the ills of life, I suppose; but I, for one, turn back from the study of all these propositions with devout thankfulness that we live in a world which God has made, and that these gentlemen may mar, but they cannot greatly alter it; and, looking back on our experience of what they have done for us, I think we may all submit gladly to things as they are in preference to the notions of Niles and Carey as to what they ought to be. This is a world in which toil is the road to wealth. It is a world in which industry, economy, prudence, temperance, are sure roads to health, wealth, comfort and happiness, if men will only leave those virtues to operate freely under the laws which are set for human life. It is a world in which idleness, extravagance, dissipation and want of thrift are sternly and piteously punished; unless men, by their laws, rob virtue of its rewards to transfer them to vice. That is all which any "protection" ever can do, and it is the worst injustice which law can perpetrate. It is the injustice of the old despotisms and caste aristocracies, and of all systems of class legislation and privilege, an injustice which has made history one long record of revolutions and social wars and broils and tumults. We may perpetrate it over again in the name of democracy, but we may be

sure we shall only produce the same results. What is lacking in it is liberty, and in spite of the boasts of men about liberty, we are very far yet from understanding what it is. It is nothing but the removal of all restraints which hinder any individual from exercising all his powers under the best intelligence, to go towards happiness by the path of virtue which is laid down for us, but we may as well understand that it brings with it the chance that he may, blindly and ignorantly, choose the path of vice, which leads to ruin. When we plead for liberty we plead only that those of us who want to choose the course of prosperity and solid security may be left free to do so, or at least, that we may not be burdened in the attempt. When we ask for the liberty to exchange our products as we will, we ask only that, in that one particular, our efforts to advance ourselves may be left free to exert their full effect.

This brings us then face to face with the task which is at present incumbent upon us. We must have recourse to the means which are familiar to the habits of our people. We must organize societies and diffuse information. We must meet and discuss, and seek to gain and to propagate sound ideas. Our own welfare and that of our children depends upon it. If we are to have a fight, and we may expect that the whole cohort of selfish interests will make a strong stand for the control they have gained, we must meet it. The appeal lies to the great agricultural interest, which is the chief sufferer, and which numbers one-half of all the population of the country engaged in any occupation. The beginnings may be small and not very encouraging, but there is immense faith to be placed in sound and true doctrine when it is fairly and plainly taught, and it is impossible that a system of legislation so shameful and ignorant as our present tariff legislation can long disgrace a free country.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

We have a double apology to make with this issue, first, that we have again put two numbers into one; secondly, that we are late, even for the second month. The first occasion of our apology is deliberate; our business friends are in this dull season too lazy—may we say?—to do much reading; and our agricultural friends, in this busy season, are too busy. We shall, therefore, save our strength for the Fall, when we are more likely to win and hold attention, and issue another double number for the months of July and August. Our little periodical was announced to be published monthly or as often as possible, so that we are not breaking faith; moreover, we hope to be able in the Fall to make large numbers that will more than make up the difference.

As to the second occasion, we may be permitted to say again that in publishing our journal we meet with experiences that are very gratifying

and yet which give us real regret. The whole of the work is performed *con amore*, by those of us who are busily employed in other fields whereby we are enabled to live; it follows, therefore, that the journal must take its chances in the odd hours of comparative leisure, preventing that regularity of issuing it which is eminently desirable. This is to us very annoying and a matter of sincere regret. It is however one of the gratifying compensations to know that there is such a desire on the part of our friends to receive it that, in any delay, they write asking "what has become of the last number of the NEW CENTURY? I feel lost without it." In expressing our regret at any unavoidable delay, we can only say, be patient,—the work presents most encouraging aspects, but it is not yet self-supporting. We hope soon to have such support as will prevent delay.

Our city and visiting friends and our correspondents will please take notice that the headquarters of the Alliance have been removed from Washington square to a more central position, at 42 East 14th Street (Union Square), between Broadway and University Place. The second Thursday evening in each month will be continued as the regular meeting night, although during this summer weather the meetings are somewhat informal, and in the fall we expect to make arrangements for a course of lectures by eminent economists, which will form a worthy parallel to those of Prof. Sumner. The rooms will also be open on other Thursday evenings, when all free-traders, "moderates" or "absolutes," or all who are seeking information on the subjects with which we deal, will be heartily welcomed. We are very desirous that *all citizens* who sympathise with our work, and especially the younger ones, should make themselves known.

Says the *Nation* of June 15th: "The difficulties are so serious, and will take so much time for their removal, that we cannot help asking the friends of civil service reform whether they do not think that the time for desultory attacks on the existing system through occasional articles and speeches has gone by, and that it must be assailed by some organization created for the purpose, with its treasury, and its writers and speakers, and all the other machinery of persistent and trained agitation, devoted day by day to the exposure of abuses and the education of the popular mind as to the remedy. The unnoticed scandals of our civil service, as now constituted, are numberless; the arts by which those who profit by them defend themselves against reform are too varied and powerful for any one man or newspaper to be able to make much impression on them; and the question will always be successfully shirked at elections until it is by some means raised to the rank of a 'main question.' This, we cannot help feeling, in the case of an abuse which has become rooted in

our political traditions and habits, and to some extent in our manners and legislation, can only be done by an organization like a party, and, pending the formation of a party or preparatory to it, by an association."

Undoubtedly the reform can be secured only by determined and organized opposition to the existing system. Without intending to arrogate to ourselves the ability to accomplish it, (no one society or journal can do that!) we may say that while the Alliance works primarily for freedom of trade, reform of the civil service, by the one method that is sure to be effective, is not less its purpose. For this, the Alliance was organized and our little journal is published. While this department of the government remains in its present dimensions, it cannot be permanently reformed. We should rejoice to see our plan for the purification of the civil service more generally supported by other journals in any effort for freedom in trade, and in that way, for the purification of the civil service. We should be equally glad to see the reform accomplished in any other way. But what is the other way?

The efforts of the Alliance are accomplishing one chief object: they are provoking wide discussions of its principles, *pro* and *con*, in the local press. Here, for instance, is the *Sentinel* of Monroe, Wisconsin, in which "C." a Free Trader, and "Protectionist" are discussing the general revenue question, in a series of articles of vigor and ability. The latter is candid enough to "premise this at the start:" "That almost any system steadily adhered to, would be better than the continual tinkering of the tariff that has characterized the government from its earliest history. The strongest argument, perhaps, that can be urged in favor of direct taxation is that it *might* put an end to this kind of work."

He says, also: "It cannot be denied, successfully, that the revenue raised by direct taxation upon property would be the most equitable; though everyone knows that such taxation is far enough from being equal in practice," and he adds that a body of government internal revenue officers would be worse than the custom-house gentlemen.

A PLEA FOR OUR MANUFACTURERS.

At the dinner of the Stationers' Board of Trade, one of the speakers, Mr. Phelps, its actuary, speaking for the manufacturing interests, said:—

Some years ago we had a wide field before us in America alone, with a high protective tariff giving to the home manufacturer over the foreign an advantage of 20 to 25 per cent. What difference was it if he paid higher and still higher wages, his profits were greater and greater, and naturally

he increased his power of supply, until to-day, the American markets are glutted, there are more goods manufactured than can be sold here, and yet owing to your high tariff and high cost of labor you cannot export save at a loss.

The remedy is, when a manufacture is well established, protect it no longer. Take for instance copper—there is a duty on it of five cents a pound. The mines of Lake Superior could supply the world. The

price for copper on the other side is eighteen cents a pound; you can't buy it for less than twenty-three cents here. The manufacturer makes his five cents a pound, and rather than reduce the price here he finds he can make more money by sending all his surplus produce to Liverpool and selling it at eighteen cents. Thus is the American manufacturer obliged to pay twenty-three cents for that which the English manufacturer pays

eighteen cents. Take off the duty and the price would be eighteen cents here as well as there, and we should supply the markets of the civilized world. The same principles apply in the markets for cotton goods and for paper.

We must reduce the cost of manufacture, and once again in the markets of West India, South America, Africa and of Asia will be found our goods.

GLEANINGS FROM THE PRESS.

The Brooklyn *Eagle* of June 21st prints a long and able discussion by Mr. Henry Kemp, read first before the Brooklyn Social Science Association, on the question of rent and population. We quote some of the points in his summing up:

"Third.—That the theory of rent shows that a nation who has a surplus of first class lands for production, for home use and also for export, has an advantage over less favored countries who are forced from density of population to use inferior soils.

"Fourth.—That imposing a protective duty is a tax on the consumer on what he buys from the importer for the benefit of the Government, and an indirect tax in favor of the home producer of a similar commodity. And those engaged in the production of iron and textiles, who alone require protection, are only 7 per cent. of the population it only benefits them temporary, and in the long run they lose in the same proportion as the rest of the nation from this law.

"Fifth.—That a protective tariff only transfers production from a greater to a less profitable industry, and must lessen the price of labor and the profits of capital.

"The vast power of official patronage put into the hands of any dominant party has been exercised, hitherto, not solely as it should be, with a view of securing honest and efficient service, but, rather, mainly for the purpose of promoting partizan interests. The army of officials that swarm about our custom houses, under all administrations, both from the manner of their appointment and the understood tenure of their office,

have generally been a pretty hard and unscrupulous set. Chosen for the kind of work they are expected to do, and trained and disciplined by the great chieftains whose dependent retainers they are, their influence in controlling primary meetings and county and State conventions has been found practically irresistible in the States where the great custom houses are established.

"Who does not know that the party machinery is seized upon and operated by those mercenary officials so as to defeat the better elements in every party, although those elements constitute, as I believe they do, a large majority of the people * * *

"And I never yet knew a high protectionist whose sense of the duty he owed to home manufactures was strong enough to prevent his buying smuggled goods, if he could get them cheaper, or prevent him from buying in foreign countries what he needed to replenish his wardrobe, or supply any of his wants, rather than wait for the brief time—imposing no inconvenience—required to reach 'his dear native land,' where he could encourage, by purchase at home, the great system of 'Protection to American Industry.'"—"C," in Monroe (Wis.), *Sentinel*.

The *Scotsman*, while not giving its voice either for or against Free Trade, says of the work of the Alliance: "We look upon the movement itself as being a remarkable one. The fact is deserving of careful attention that in a country fenced in by protection, an alliance should not only have been formed

for the advocacy of a contrary theory and practice, but that it should have aroused much of the active sympathy, and enlisted on its side much of the most intelligent opinion of the country. We welcome 'The New Century' with unalloyed satisfaction. Its name contains an omen of success. The American Republic has, after a life of a hundred years, found itself overburdened with debt and taxation. It is to be hoped that the new century may bring relief. We

welcome this publication for a more solid reason. Popular ideas upon Protection and Free Trade are somewhat hazy. They may be said to concentrate in the one fact that a system which nurses and encourages the native manufacturer, by practically excluding foreign competition, must help the development of the internal resources and industries of the country. In view of that stupendous fact, the question of who pays the piper is ignored."

FREE TRADE SOCIETIES.

INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE.

MAY MEETING.

The regular monthly meeting of the Alliance was held on Thursday evening, May 11th; the President, Mr. F. H. Harrison, presiding.

Professor W. G. Sumner delivered the last Lecture in his series of four on the HISTORY OF PROTECTION IN THE UNITED STATES. At the close of the Lecture, the Secretary reported the receipt, since the previous meeting, of 32 letters, from several of which he read interesting and encouraging extracts. A vote was passed unanimously, expressing the great satisfaction given to the Alliance by Professor Sumner through the able and interesting Lectures which he had delivered.

Remarks were also made by Mr. Bowker, presenting informally his experience and impression while attending the opening exercises of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia. After which the meeting adjourned.

MR. EARLE'S REMARKS.

Mr. President—It may not be the most fitting, perhaps, that I should rise at this moment, and yet it is to me a very grateful thing to be able to do.

We are an organization engaged in the work of educating in the great principles which have been so ably presented to us and which we believe should become controlling in our national government. Our efforts in sowing the seeds of sound political

doctrine may have, in many other places, as small beginnings as our Association had here, yet these efforts earnestly directed and thoroughly in harmony with the method recommended in the closing address of our distinguished lecturer, are steadily increasing in their force and extent, and must in time produce successful results.

We have been holding these public meetings from month to month, and for the last four meetings we have been favored with a course of lectures from the gentleman who has just now taken his seat; and it seems to me becoming in us to formally express by a vote the profound satisfaction we have had in listening to this instruction, to this series of lectures, and to express ourselves in but few words, perhaps, but in a most earnest manner, as to our gratification at what has been done in the direction we are working by the lectures of Professor Sumner. (Applause.)

I move you, sir, that this meeting, by a vote, express its satisfaction and its gratification at what we have been listening to in the lectures during these four months past.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Howard, and unanimously adopted.

MR. BOWKER'S REMARKS.

Mr. President—I have just come from the Centennial Exposition, — have come in such a hurry, in fact, that I have scarcely had time to get the Philadelphia mud off my

boots. I am not sure, however, but that mud is a "protection" to boots; the logic of the Pennsylvania obstructionists can compass that, I think.

Some of you may know that the Women's Committee in Philadelphia are about to publish a little journal, which they call *The New Century for Women*. I had occasion, therefore, to see Mrs. Gillespie, the very vigorous president of the Women's Centennial Committee, to talk with her about the difficulty which might possibly come up in the likeness of that title to the title of our own journal. We had some conversation about the matter, and she said that while they were sorry they had not known of the existence of our paper, it would be a considerable difficulty to change their title now, as they had made all their announcements and preparations under that name. I told her that we probably had sufficient cause to quarrel if we wished, but that we had no desire to do so, and said further, that *THE NEW CENTURY*, as the organ of the International Free Trade Alliance, hoped to help rather than to hinder any work that looked toward the broader day. "Well," she said finally, "we aren't much on Free Trade here in Pennsylvania." I wanted to say to her, "Madam, Pennsylvania is presenting to the United States the grandest Free Trade argument that could possibly be. You have there in your city that Declaration of Independence which freed this country from the bonds and iniquities of the past from which we cut ourselves loose a hundred years ago; you have hanging in Independence Hall that bell which proclaimed 'Liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof,' and you have here this grand exhibition in which all nations come together—for what? to put up fences between them?—no, but to show of what service and of what good they can all be to each other."

That Exhibition, I believe, will be really and truly the greatest argument for Free Trade that could possibly be presented to this people. It will show them just what we can get from the other nations, and it will teach them to want to get those things from other nations with the least possible restrictions upon our trade.

I happen to bring with me a rather weighty looking document, which is the official catalogue of the British section of the Exposition. This document includes not only the catalogue proper but what is called the "Commercial Guide," which goes with it.

The British Government having had more experience than we in these international exhibitions, look upon them as no mere matter of money. Recognizing in them the great means of bringing forward the people in industry and in the arts, they have gone to the trouble and the expense of laying before the British manufacturers and other exhibitors, and such American people as may choose to buy this catalogue, all the facts which they could gather, as to the conditions of commerce between the United States and Great Britain. They have here a most admirable tabulation of our tariff, perhaps better than could be had from any United States source. They show by this how much more each article costs here to American consumers than if we had already adopted the principles which the Alliance is engaged in promoting. But, more significant than that, they give at the end two tables which show the duties in France previous to and after its first great international exhibition. It is a most wonderful showing. It tells us that articles which were absolutely prohibited in France before that exhibition were welcomed after it, and that in almost every item of the tariff there was a reduction of from 25 to as high as 75 per cent, the result of that international exhibition.

This catalogue, while deprecating any desire to introduce unfairly the British doctrines into the United States, gives some excellent statements of what the British people hope may come to America from this international exhibition. It says:

"The approaching Centennial Exhibition, however, cannot but have a potent and far-reaching influence over the entire Continent of America, of which the United States form only a part, and it will assuredly afford the opportunity of a peaceful rivalry between the English manufacturer, untrammelled with excessive revenue taxation, and his American competitor. The English ex-

hibitor will be permitted to mark his goods at the price in sterling at which he would be prepared to supply them direct from England, exclusive of duties, &c.; a valuable concession, since it will illustrate the working of the protective tariff on all sides, enlightening more especially American customers from outlying States, who have few opportunities of becoming acquainted with the first cost of the goods they require.

"If the participation of European nations in the Philadelphia Exhibition does not immediately lead to a reduction of this nearly prohibitive duty which threatens to close the United States market against them for many staple commodities, the hope may not unreasonably be cherished, that it may prove the means of opening out new trade, in friendly competition with their brethren across the Atlantic, with the great and rising nations of Central and South America, whose requirements, if well understood and anticipated, may not unlikely create a large and lasting trade of good benefit to this and future generations."

I am citing, of course, the British report, and we hear always that we are working in British interests and for British gold. I am afraid the Alliance has not yet seen any of this British gold. We should be glad to take British gold or American silver, because, having a patriot purpose, whatever comes to us for that purpose is welcome, whether it comes from outside our country or inside. But we do not speak from a British standpoint. We speak with motives of the purest patriotism, and we say that just as this nation has proved that any individual citizen is the better off for the fullest freedom in the community, so every individual nation will be the better off when it obtains that full liberty in the community of the world.

This, we understand, is the doctrine that is preached here, that it is as much to the interest of America as to the interest

of Great Britain that trade should be unrestricted between us.

JUNE MEETING.

The regular June meeting of the Alliance was held on the evening of Thursday, June 8th, at the rooms on Washington Square.

Mr. Brown read a few of the letters which had been received since the previous meeting, and stated that a considerable number of others might be selected which were very encouraging expressions of Free Trade sentiment.

An informal discussion of the problem of taxation was then instituted, which was sustained by Messrs. Wm. Wood, Abraham L. Earle, John R. Voorhis, R. S. Perrin, Wm. Kemp, G. B. Mead, C. M. Eisig, Sigmund Wels, Alvah W. Brown and others.

Several plans for raising the Federal revenues were considered. Of these, the one which found most favor was that which would provide simply that the amount of revenue necessary for the general government, be divided among the states in proportion to their populations, each state being simply called upon for a certain sum, and left entirely free to raise it in whatever manner it might prefer. Some of the advantages urged for this system were, that it would do away with the expense and corruption of the Custom House and Internal Revenue Departments; it would enable the Federal revenues to be collected by the same machinery which the states now employ; competition between the states would result in the attainment of a much more economical and equitable method than at present exists even in the states, and others which we have not space to report.

The idea of raising all public revenues, Federal, state, county and city, by land taxes alone, was also generally thought to possess important merits.

The discussion continued about two hours, when the meeting was adjourned.

BOSTON FREE TRADE CLUB.

APRIL MEETING.

The Boston Free Trade Club held its April meeting in Union Hall, Y. M. C. Union Building, Thursday evening the 27th,

when Prof. A. L. Perry, of Williams College, addressed an audience of about 400 people. President Downie introduced Prof. Perry as a thorough advocate of free trade

for twenty years, and in rising he was received with hearty applause. He said that "we come together with a state of things far more favorable to us than formerly. Public opinion in New England is swinging to our position and what was also the original position of New England on this question of free trade. The best public opinion of New England at this time is on our side, or, if not there already, it is coming around to us very rapidly. New England, seventy or eighty years ago, was a unit for free exchanges, and some of the earliest of Mr. Webster's speeches expressed a strong hostility to all commercial restrictions. I congratulate you, gentlemen, that New England is coming back to her old position on this question. Mr. President, we are not only free traders, but Centennial free traders, and we assemble here to-night as free traders celebrating the independence of these United States, also indirectly the publication of Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' the first promulgation of the true definition of political economy, that is, the science of exchanges. Now I propose to tell you, as well as I can, what the Centennial free trader thinks and proposes to do."

In the first place, the Centennial free trader, although his name is different, keeps on good working terms with those who demand direct taxation only. The lecturer then sketched in this connection the character of the International Free Trade Alliance and its list of members. Free trade had a meaning perfectly definite in the minds of men. It is the opposite of protection, nothing more and nothing less; not the opposite of custom duties or tariff, whose duties are laid with a single eye for revenue for the support of the Government. We advocate the abolition of all protective duties so as to bring our tariff into a purely revenue shape. The speaker would work along with the International Alliance, but was of opinion that tariffs would not be overthrown in this country until first brought into revenue shape. He said: Let us deal blows for the present at this monster protection.

Second.—The Centennial free trader emphasizes the essentially un-American character of protective tariffs so-called.

Third.—The Centennial free trader, though proud of his country, insists that the world is a bigger and better market to sell and buy in than any one country.

Fourth. The Centennial free trader knows that all trade depends on differences between the parties; and is not accordingly afraid of the competition of less fortunate countries than his own.

Fifth.—The Centennial free trader means business, when he assails the self-contradictory doctrines and disastrous results of protection.

Sixth.—The Centennial free trader is a hard-money man, and maintains that the only obstacles that keep United States products out of the markets of the world are a false currency and a protective tariff.

MAY MEETING.

The May meeting, the last until the fall, was held at the Parker House, Thursday evening, the 25th, President Downie presiding. After the election of many honorary members, Mr. Saml. L. Powers read a paper on "Free Trade as Affecting Revenue," to show that the two classes of free traders, the "absolutes" and the "conditionals," might co-exist in the same body and work for the same great ends.

A debate whether free trade was identified with specie payments was conducted by Messrs. Geo. W. Brown and Walter P. Beckwith. Mr. Downie then introduced Prof. Sumner, who was enthusiastically received. Among other things he said, that if we were to choose the grandest hero in the country as President, and he should attempt to remedy all the evils that have grown out of false systems, he would worry himself into his grave in less than a year. No mere empirical method can remedy our evils at once, for no man and no body of men can sway public opinion and change familiar usages just as they like. If you work steadily and patiently for the rectification of but one economic mistake, you will do a noble work towards establishing a better order of things. The free trade movement, he thought, could never be pushed more advantageously than now. The density of popular ignorance is being dispelled, though slowly; and the importance of the subject

of revenue, almost ignored since 1857, is beginning to be acknowledged. All interests are prostrated, and some change is imperatively demanded. Professor Sumner proceeded to show that though there was no antagonism between the revenue reform and the absolute free trade supporters, yet every free trader should understand the distinction between them, and make up his mind which he thinks are right. The British free trade is identical with our revenue reform, except that an excise duty on the home manufacture is understood on all. The absolute free trade theory is a distinctly American idea. Its friends propose that between all nations absolute freedom of trade shall exist, just as that which the

Constitution insures between the States of this Confederation, so widely differing in soil, climate and productions. Professor Sumner in closing said, that if the country should to-morrow resume specie payments and strike out one-half of the articles included in the protective tariff, he did not doubt that there would be a grand revival of trade within a month.

Mr. R. R. Bowker, of the Alliance, being called upon, spoke of the encouragement before free traders, and added that the cause of free trade and honest money should go together. The world's trade means the world's money, summarizes the truth. Mr. Crawford Griffin then read an excellent paper on "Direct and Indirect Taxation."

LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE.

The current letters from the corresponding members of the Alliance and outside correspondents, in all parts of the country, give a most informing and suggestive view of the relations of free trade, showing here apathy, there complications with political questions, but generally a wide-spread belief or an eager inquiry. We regret that we cannot give space to more of these letters, but we print herewith extracts from letters from several states from which reports have been received, which show how generally diffused is the interest in free trade.

FROM ANTWERP, NEW YORK.

* * * Permit me to congratulate the Alliance for the favorable reports received in all directions of the spread of correct principles, and that the agriculturist and mechanic are, even at this late hour, opening their eyes to the injustice, corruption and unconstitutionality of the protective system, so-called. In talking with protectionists I assume that man has rights older than human constitutions and human laws; that one of these many rights, not surrendered upon his entrance into society, is the right to

dispose of the surplus products of his industry in the markets of the world; that he has a right to buy where he can purchase cheapest without governmental interference, as certain as that water of its own gravity will run down hill, but never up unless forced; that if it costs ten cents to raise an orange in Paris and but one cent to raise it in Lisbon, it would be foolishness for the French people to forsake the cultivation of the vine and raise oranges; that if you and I have 100 bales of cotton in Louisiana and can get 1500 yards of velvets or broadcloth in Liverpool, Bremen or Paris it is one of those God-given rights to sell it there and not be compelled to give government (or more properly, in these days of corruption and fraud, the custom house officer,) 500 yards for the privilege of bringing it here and disposing of it. All Democrats whom I have recently conversed with assent to the doctrine, and very many of the other party concede that the United States, must, for a very great number of years have a great agricultural surplus to dispose of in foreign markets, but express doubts of its expediency, fearing to ruin our infant home manufactures (50 or 100 years old), because some foreign governments still adhere to the restrictive policy, preferring to sin themselves because others do.

FROM ROME, N. Y.

* * * The public mind has been so bewildered by the taking claim of protection that many suppose it a method of production without labor. Then we are to consider that the principle of protection to labor has been carried to nearly every branch of industry and especially those that have the least foreign competition. The effect has naturally been to combine a large interest that is made more active than the agriculturists and others whose interest would be promoted by free exchange.

FROM ALMOND, N. Y.

* * * I know of no Democrats in this section but what favor free trade, and I have been surprised and highly gratified to find several prominent republicans who are partial to free trade.

I should judge more were in favor of a revenue tariff than absolute free trade.

FROM FORT EDWARD, N. Y.

* * * There is more political demoralization in this community than I ever knew before; the general belief and acknowledgment that both political parties are notoriously corrupt is patent as noonday. The political leaders, however, cling tenaciously to their parties, claiming that the present troubles were caused by their opponents, and call on their henchmen and followers to stand firm, as the salvation of the country depends on the success of their respective parties. I would say further that the terrible depression in business absorbs almost every other subject. The necessities of the (supposed) rich as well as the poor are everywhere present.

FROM NEW YORK.

* * * The trouble is that people approach the subject as though it were some great mystery or occult science, whereas it is nothing but the application of the simplest natural laws, I might even say instincts. Every country should produce what it can grow best, and when the wants which these occupations create can be best supplied by home labor, well and good. Until then buy where they are cheapest. Why pay fifty per cent. more for the luxury of making them ourselves?

Is it cheaper for the farmer to make his own plows or the machinist his files? If a man has land well adapted to cotton and sugar, he does not grow wheat and corn.

The case seems too clear for argument; and had free trade prevailed from the year 1776, I believe that our mining and manufacturing interests would be in as good or a greater state of forwardness than now.

FROM CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

* * * I am, and for many years have been, in favor of free trade and hard money, and would be glad to see paper money and the custom house abolished together. I think that in the course of ten years the country will make a positive and good advance in the direction of free trade, hard money and more equitable taxation.

FROM LIGONIER, IND.

* * * I hope your movement will gain strength and popularity rapidly, for the change cannot come too soon.

FROM HEBRON, IND.

* * * Since receiving your pamphlet I have been looking at the situation a little carefully and have come to the following conclusions:

1. Free trade is not a party question here, its advocates being found in both parties.
2. The people are remarkably ignorant upon this subject.
3. A majority will indorse the views of the Alliance as soon as they understand them. Party ties are strong (but are growing less so), and it may be some time before a majority of the people will make free trade the leading political issue. But in the end free trade must win, for its arguments are unanswerable. Your pamphlet is admirable: it has the ring of pure metal. Your strongest point to me is that of self-help; self-reliance stands at the bottom of every permanent success. The over-fond mother that never allows her children to do the most trivial things for themselves will raise a family of cyphers; six months of careless alms-giving will convert a self-reliant laboring man into a pauper. Army pensions are a curse to one half of those who receive them. Illustrations of the truth of this principle are found everywhere, and are acknowledged by every thinking person.

When I read your pamphlet I wonder that protection ever got a footing here at all, yet it is no more wonderful, I suppose, than many other things; each generation reveals some blindness of the preceding one. I predict your publications will do much good. I have great faith in that way of creating public sentiment. When a man receives a paper or book as his own property it disarms prejudice and is pretty sure of a careful reading.

FROM LORAINÉ, ILL.

* * * I think a large majority of this county desire thorough reform, and are held to party by the slightest possible tenure.

* * * Two years ago I introduced a resolution in favor of free trade and direct taxation in a convention of Patrons of Husbandry and Agricultural Societies, of several hundred delegates, which resolutions passed with only eight dissenting votes. * * * Although free trade and direct taxation has not entered heretofore as a prominent feature in our political nominations, there has been and is an under current influence in its favor that almost invariably controls Democratic nominations.

Nine-tenths of the Patrons of Husbandry in this county have severed their political allegiance to party and are co-workers in the reformatory movements of the age.

FROM ARCOLA, ILL.

* * * While there is no excitement among the western people on the subject of free trade, a large majority of them are latently in favor of it.

FROM CHICAGO, ILL.

* * * All intelligent people here cry out for reform in government, civil service and even in tariff, but naturally people vary indefinitely as to these three things, and the *proportion* of reform in each they want.

FROM ALEDO, ILL.

* * * Free Trade is progressing in this Congressional District steadily. We have three newspapers, two free trade and one nothing. Our district is usually eight hundred republican majority, but last election, we independents and grangers nominated and elected Bagley, free trader, to

Congress, by a large majority. But as the grangers and independents are very much demoralized here, it is possible the republicans will carry the next election. As they will probably nominate John J. Gleen, a good free trade man, we free traders will support him, but if they nominate a tariff man, we will run Bagley again or some other free trade man. We think there is no other question of importance here before the people.

FROM FONTANELLE, IOWA.

* * * Having early been instructed in protection theories by my father, an ardent Henry Clay Whig, of Pennsylvania, I have only of late years come to doubt the soundness of my early training in this regard, and as my views are far from settled upon the merits of the controversy between Free Trade or Protection, I wish to avail myself of your publications.

FROM ARENA, IOWA.

The NEW CENTURY has come to hand, and its contents I have perused with great interest. I am more than pleased to find that the spirit of free trade is reviving again. I am a free trader to the backbone (nothing but absolute free trade will do me.) I hope to see the day when every revenue cutter and United States custom house will be sold under the hammer to the highest bidder.

We elect our Member to the Assembly from this district on that issue and give him 285 majority. Start the ball in motion. Free Trade and Sailors' Rights, that's the motto. I am nothing but a "mudsill," as one of the Members of Congress from the Southern States was pleased to call us farmers of the North. But it appears to me that the cheapest way to collect revenue to run the United States Government would be a direct tax on the wealth of the country.

Let Congress levy the tax, and the Secretary of the Treasury compute the tax to each State according to her assessed value, and the Secretaries in each State compute the United States tax to each county as they do the State tax; it would then be collected with our local taxes and paid over to the State Treasurer, and by him to the United States Treasurer. I think if such a system

should be adopted it would start a few thousands of defunct government leeches to grubbing for their bread and butter.

FROM JACKSONVILLE, KAN.

* * * The element for free trade all over this country is in the majority.

FROM FORT SCOTT, KAN.

* * * On the prime question of free trade all the people need is to have the subject brought to their immediate attention.

FROM MARSHALL, NEB.

* * * The main thing for the Alliance to do appears to be to let people know they are all acting Free Trade principles every day. We have never become acquainted with a Protectionist but we could prove to him by his own actions that he did not believe in the principles he professed.

FROM FALLS CITY, NEB.

* * * There is no movement here yet in favor of free trade. Most of the intelli-

gent farmers are in favor of tariff for revenue only, and I have found five or six who are absolute free traders. The demagogues have made many believe that if the currency could only be inflated we should all have plenty of money, whether we have any crops or not. * * * I will make up a club for the NEW CENTURY in the Fall.

FROM MONROE, WIS.

* * * There are plenty of people who are ready to accept free trade as a correct abstract principle, but whose actions are fettered by a bigoted devotion to a party which barter protection laws for support in the emergencies of an election. Still, I suppose there are hopeful signs that party ties are weakening, and that the people are being forced to look outside of party for means of reform. * * *

We meet to-morrow evening to organize our club, and from present indications, I think I shall be able before long to give you an encouraging account of our work here.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

We acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of letters from the following correspondents. They number about sixty—from eighteen different States:

Arkansas—C. E. Tobey, Little Rock.

Connecticut—P. O'Farrell, Hartford.

Illinois—S. F. Hawkins, Tolerance (2); W. H. Farrier, Lorraine; I. L. H. Young, Arcola; A. Gilkison, Chicago; E. L. Willeford, Old Ripley; H. D. Lloyd, Chicago; A. Corken, Alido; W. H. Bradbury, Dwight; I. Johnston, Chicago; S. H. Larison, Montrose, Eff. Co.

Indiana—Ira W. Stage, Ligonier; W. H. Pixley, Lowell, Lake Co.; Jno. T. Campbell, Rockville.

Iowa—Joseph Dodd, Clyde; Jas. M. Gow, Fontanelle; Chas. Whittaker, Hook's Point.

Kansas—F. A. Prather, Wellsville; F. H. Dumbauld, Jacksonville; Jno. M. Galloway, Fort Scott (3); H. G. Nichols, Elgin.

Massachusetts—H. Willey, New Bedford; Augustus Towne, Boston; H. L. Mellen, Tufts College; Cyrus Woodman, Cambridge; Wm. Downie, President, Boston F. T. Club, Boston.

Michigan—C. P. Chase, Librarian, Olivet College, Olivet; Thos. D. Hawley, Detroit.

Mississippi—A. G. Smythe, Baldwin; H. O. Dixon, Jackson; V. H. Fugate, Vangham, Yazoo Co.

Minnesota—Hon. Jas. Bottomley, Nashville Centre.

Missouri—Clarke Irvine, Oregon (2).

Nebraska—Geo. Hutchings, Falls City; Jas. Urquhart, Marshall; Jas. Cruickshank, Marshall; Saml. M. Elder, Fairfield, Clay Co.

Nevada—W. L. Knox, Reno.

New York—J. DeWitt Miller, Fort Edward; M. S. Bidwell, Elmira; C. D. Hudson, Troy; Saml. Hotchkin, Elmira (2); Schiro Muratt, Brooklyn; Levi Miller, Antwerp; D. C. Hopkins, Almond; Jno. B. Jervis, Rome; Edwin Crane, Fort Edward.

Ohio—C. A. Hawley, Girard; Henry Matson, Oberlin College.

South Carolina—W. B. Smith, Charleston.

Tennessee—A. B. Robettson, Nashville, (to W. C. Bryant.)

Wisconsin—Rowley Morris, Brodhead; A. Thompson, Rochester (2); E. R. Leland, Eau Claire; Dr. John C. Hall, Monroe (2); W. E. Rowe, Arena.

INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE.

This organization has been formed for the purpose of promoting industrial and commercial freedom—absolute freedom in exchanging the productions of industry with all the world.

WE HOLD, That freedom in Trade and Commerce—freedom in exchanging the productions of our agricultural and manufacturing industries with those of other countries—is as necessary to the prosperity of the nation, as freedom in producing is to the individual. That it is a principle essential to our American liberty which cannot be violated without injury and danger to our institutions, and should never be infringed upon by the government except when absolutely and unavoidably necessary.

WE HOLD, That comfort, wealth, civilization, and the welfare of mankind are directly promoted and increased by exchanging the products of labor between individuals, and states, and nations. That farmers, or mechanics, or any other producers do not promote their own welfare by keeping more than they need of anything which they have produced, but by exchanging the surplus in purchasing whatever they desire of things produced by others, wherever they can do so most advantageously to themselves. That as a people, we are not free, in so far as the liberty to make such exchanges—such sales and purchases—is restricted by the arbitrary power of government.

WE HOLD, That the Custom House system of obtaining national revenue, violates the principles of American liberty, fosters international prejudices, is hurtful to republicanism, and hinders the growth of peace and good-will among men. That it interferes with and injures lawful business, which is constantly the subject of sudden and arbitrary changes in the tariff. That it is a formidable obstacle in the way of our national prosperity, and the pursuit of useful and honorable enterprise. That it has for many years been one of the most fruitful causes of sectional irritation and animosity. That it is a wasteful and unjust method of obtaining revenue, in causing the people to pay, in cost of living, an enormously greater amount than ever reaches the treasury. That it is a constant and strong incentive to bribery, corruption and smuggling, which are ruinous to honest merchants. That it affords excuse for employing a very large number of officials, who control political and party machinery, and whose influence prevents the first step in Civil Service Reform.

The efforts of the ALLIANCE will be directed towards obtaining ABSOLUTE FREEDOM IN TRADE AND COMMERCE by abandoning the Custom House revenue system, as soon as it can be done without injury to the best interests of the people; providing for the necessary expenses of government by a just, undisguised, and economical method of TAXATION; and ensuring CIVIL SERVICE REFORM by reducing the multitude of offices now existing, but which will then be no longer necessary.

The work of the Alliance will be prosecuted by appealing to the intelligent common sense of the people through the Press, and by public meetings.

schemes demand new definition. We have, indeed, reached a point where the question is raised whether economy is a science at all.

In the first place, political economy suffers from the fact that its phenomena are of common experience, although no one man's experience embraces them all. Every scientific economist who has been forced to collect information for himself must have been struck by the fact that people actively engaged in business confine their interest and attention very strictly to their own line of occupation. The banker knows nothing of railroads, the railroad man knows nothing of insurance, the insurance man knows nothing of export trade, the exporter knows nothing of importing, the importer knows nothing of real estate, and so on. This is no reproach; for it is by division of labor and exclusive devotion to a chosen occupation that wealth is best increased. It follows, however, that, if persons of narrow experience generalize upon their observations, we must expect a vast amount of empiricism. Illustrations without number in support of this statement might be drawn from tariff and currency discussions in this country. The truth is that men of limited experience and observation are witnesses only. Analysis, comparison, inference, and generalization, can be carried on successfully only when they embrace all the testimony and are conducted under scientific training.

I know of no remedy for this empiricism, and I seek none. Physicians are not held to refute the doctrines of hygiene and therapeutics which are put forth in the quack almanacs, nor does the law suppress these latter.

While we insist upon sound doctrine in all proper ways and on all proper occasions, we may rely upon the gradual decay of what is shallow and erroneous. Experience always tells in favor of what is sound and true, even though its slow and costly schooling often vexes our patience. It cannot be denied, however, that we have here one explanation of the opinion, now so widespread in this country, that political economy does not deal with positive methods or reach clear and simple results; in other words, that it possesses little authority.

Another cause of the same state of things seems to me to be in the fact that much of the newer literature of political economy is, if I may so express it, disloyal to the science itself. I mean that it is revolutionary. It does not stand on the ground already won by the science, and seek a firm and free but legitimate development. Writers have appeared in great numbers of late years, who have either attempted to brush away all the work of the great economists, and begin anew, or have discharged what I may call "explosive negations" into the centre of the fabric as thus far built up. There is, indeed, no orthodoxy in political economy, and no one of us, I am sure, would desire to prevent the fullest examination of any one of its doctrines. Probably every one of us has his doubts about some one or another of its doctrines, which is only another sign of its present unsatisfactory condition. I cannot believe, however, that the

progress of the science is furthered by merely destructive negations. I observe that these negations proceed from the most diverse standpoints, that they spring from various motives, and that they diverge widely from each other in their positive tendency. Sometimes they spring from the disappointment of hopes which never had any justification; sometimes they are crude notions or brilliant paradoxes which a more sober and mature study passes over; generally they are introduced by flouting Smith, Ricardo, and Mill, with supreme contempt. There is much of this amongst the modern German economists; and now-a-days, when I meet with one of these books in which there is either flippant or envious sneering at *Smithianismus* and *Manchesterthum*. I observe that it generally contains a painfully collected mass of straw and rubbish under the name of *Geschichtlicher Realismus*. I judge that the cause is that the science in Germany lacks root in a vigorous and highly organized industrial society. The error here is the counterpart of that which I mentioned before. Amongst the empiricists a witness tries to argue and sum up the case. In this instance the judge sums up the case without hearing the witnesses. It is no wonder that the result is confusion, disorder, and lack of progress in the science.

One development in the science has latterly attracted a great and, as I think, exaggerated attention, that is, the school of the *Socialistes en chaire*, or *Kathedersocialisten*. The rise of this school has been hailed chiefly because it is believed that they desire to retrace the steps which the science has made since Adam Smith, especially in regard to free trade. The school is so large and so loose in its membership, that it is hard to speak justly of its tenets in one or two sentences. There may be protectionists who adhere to it, and claim to belong to it, but it certainly would be very erroneous to describe it as a protectionist school. It has done great service to the science in the application of true German industry to historical investigations, and there are members of the school with whom I, for one, am in very close accord. The main point of divergence from the opinions entertained by other scientific economists lies in the functions and in the degree of activity to be allowed to the state. This is a practical question only, not capable of a scientific answer. It is impossible to draw the line and define it. Hence the *Kathedersocialisten* are by no means agreed on this point amongst themselves, and hence also I may be allowed the opinion that the school has no ground for a separate existence, and that the union between it and other free and progressive students of the science, which is already founded, will grow closer and closer. The degree of state interference which is wise and expedient will seem very different in Germany on the one hand, and in England or the United States on the other. I think that we shall not readily be drawn away from the opinion that where the people are energetic and enterprising, and accustomed to the initiative, state interference should be reduced to little or nothing, and that, where the people have not these qualifications, the state ought to do nothing which will not develop them.

I think it has been unfortunate for our science that it has turned, historically, about the question of Protection versus Free Trade. This has caused people to think that that contest is the gist of the science, and that the *laissez faire* doctrine, against which the *Socialistes en chaire* rave, is the whole of the science. It seems, indeed, as if the science could not amount to much if it simply said to society and the state: "All that we can tell you to do is to do nothing." Taking the industrial word as Adam Smith knew it, however, it was a grand and fruitful doctrine even in just that form, and its power is by no means yet spent, at least in our time, and our country. I would never admit that the science had no positive instruction for mankind, or that it would perish as an object of pursuit whenever statesmen and politicians could be persuaded to inactivity. I believe that, whenever liberty comes to be understood and widely trusted in regard to the industrial activity of man, results will be produced, standing upon which, the economist can point out to society methods of cooperation and organized action, to be freely and voluntarily assumed by society itself, which will add immeasurably to the productive power of the community. I do not believe, however, that the state will ever have any function in this regard, except to recognize and sanction definitions, institutions, and arrangements, thus voluntarily made.

It seems to me, therefore, that the *Socialistes en chaire*, of all grades, mistake the limits of political economy. They confuse it, on the one hand, with statesmanship, that is the practical application of principles which require different adjustments, according to the habits, traditions, prejudices and tastes of different nations, and, on the other hand, with police regulations or criminal law, which restrain the irregular and dangerous actions of private interests which a given society may, at any time, think hostile to public order.

These observations may suffice to point out the condition of our science to-day, with some of the causes of the uncertainty and confusion which appear in it.

If I am to speak of its future, I can, of course, only give an individual opinion. I live and work in the faith and hope that political economy is a science, capable of positive methods and positive results. If I had not this faith, the study would have little interest for me. I look, for the regeneration of political economy, to the spread of views of human life and human interests, which, although now new and only accepted in narrower circles, are rapidly asserting dominion over all our intellectual activity. History and statistics seem to me to be the two sources from which an economic science can be drawn, which shall be positive in its methods and results, so much so that we can apply mathematical formulas to the forces and quantities with which we have to deal. Our history will indeed need rewriting from other standpoints than those which have hitherto been adopted. Statistics will have to be collected for a long period, with greater skill and accuracy, and under better categories than we have yet used; but with these materials I doubt not a science can be

constructed fully worthy to rank with the others which have so much improved the condition of man on earth.

As for the share which we Americans can take in the work, I doubt if it can be large. We are all engaged in laborious and absorbing work. Professors of the science scarcely exist amongst us. We are schoolmasters who teach it, and who find our time and strength so far absorbed that we can only devote a little of them to the independent progress of the science. We live, moreover, in a country in which economic questions are practical questions, and we are forced to turn aside from efforts to advance the science, as a science, upon new fields, to efforts to give the practical benefits of its old and familiar conquests to our country. This ought to be the work of politicians and statesmen, and perhaps they will some day undertake it, but they do not do so yet. The task of interpreting the science to the people is therefore a task which devolves upon the American economist, and I make bold to say, even here, in the festival by which we celebrate the work of Adam Smith, that, if we might choose which we would have, we should choose rather a Cobden than an Adam Smith. The task set for us is more modest in form but perhaps grander in results, when measured in the amount of human happiness to be directly produced. We have a grand continent open before us, an energetic and industrious people ready to exploit it. We have also a science which offers amongst its solid and unquestionable results all the necessary teachings to enable this people to win unexampled wealth from this soil. The task of the American economist is to bring this science to the knowledge of this people. There is where I believe that international freedom can be won, when we carry it before the American people.

The chairman said: We have heard once from the colleges; and what we heard was so good that, like Oliver Twist, we ask for more. We ask President Anderson, of Rochester University, to give it.

"THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY."—It demonstrates morals. It proves that Diligence, Economy, Prudence, Truth and Justice, are not only among the canons of the moral law, but are also the means of a sound and stable public prosperity.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT ANDERSON.

I am glad to take part in this festival to-night, in honor of the labors of a great scholar, teacher and benefactor of his fellow-men. In our day the imposing and tangible results accomplished in the various departments of physical science, have thrown into the shade the equally great achievements of those who have cultivated what the French aptly designate as the Moral and Political Sciences. The beneficent influence of these sciences upon the public welfare, is slow in development and makes but a slight impression on the popular mind. A thousand men are familiar with the labors of Watt, Davy, Stephenson and Morse, where one recalls in gratitude the name of him whose achievements we commemorate to-night.

His work must be looked at through the long perspective of a century, in order to be adequately estimated even by the statesman or the economist. As a teacher, I am grateful for the homage which the civilized world, at this late day, is offering to the memory of one of the great ornaments of the profession to which I have the honor to belong. I join with all my heart in a formal recognition of the service which Adam Smith, as a representative teacher, has rendered to man. It has become a habit with a certain class to represent those lines of thought which find their subject matter in the impulses and faculties of man's moral and intellectual nature, as the unburied remains of mediæval scholasticism, as unpractical and economically useless. Those departments of inquiry whose foundations are sought in the analysis of the constitution and laws of mind, in the "ought" and "ought not" of conscience, whose proofs and illustrations are gleaned from the literature and history of the past, are flippantly denounced as "metaphysics," and denied a place among the positive sciences. Teachers are called upon to reject these subjects from the curriculum of liberal study, and replace them by those which are conversant only with the laws of organic or inorganic matter.

Economic laws, though acting upon material phenomena, find their origin and limitations in the moral and active powers of man. Political economy, as a science, is an outgrowth of ethics. It was the gross violation of natural rights by the economical legislation which disgraced and impoverished the 17th and 18th centuries, that directed the minds of thoughtful men in their search after remedies. Francis Hutcheson, to whom belongs the honor of having first made the elements of economic science a subject of public instruction, was, like his pupil and successor, whom we honor to-night, a professor of moral philosophy in the University of Glasgow. In their application of moral laws to human action, they were met by those obligations which arise out of the exchange of property and services. They found the whole system of commercial legislation resting, on the belief that all gains in trade by an individual or a nation, were measured by the losses which they were able to inflict on those with whom their business was transacted. The monstrous assumption prevailed that the successful merchant grew rich, only by getting the better of his customers, and that the business of a statesman was to contrive the ways and means by which his own people could most successfully enrich themselves by impoverishing their neighbors. By a profound examination of the constitution of man and the history of trade, they demonstrated the opposite principle, that in all legitimate and permanently profitable trade there is a gain to both parties in the transaction. They showed that all tricks and deceit by individuals, or legislation and diplomacy by nations, designed to secure profit by inflicting a corresponding loss on others, were as inconsistent with sound economy as they were subversive of public and private morality. They saw that all exchanges of commodities or services involve the transfer of "rights," and hence that all deceit, compulsion and "interference legislation" designed to prevent the-

equivalence of the values exchanged, work an injury to natural rights as well as to profitable commerce. In the minds of its early cultivators, political economy was conceived to be the application of morality to the commercial intercourse of men. As all trade is an exchange of personal rights, they assumed that the science of exchanges must rest on a moral basis. The aim of Adam Smith, as well as of all who have worked out the principles of political progress, was to relieve society from obstructive and oppressive legislation, and to prove to men and nations that honesty and justice are not only the best, but the only, policy worthy of the thought of a merchant or a statesman.

Were we called upon to name three men, whose labors within the last two centuries have been most conspicuously far-reaching and pervasive in their beneficial influence upon social progress, we should name Hugo Grotius, Jeremy Bentham and Adam Smith. Neither of these men, with a partial exception in the case of Grotius, was, in the vulgar sense of the term, a politician, nor even a practical man. They were quiet scholars, devoting themselves to the study and discussion of moral principles in their bearing upon the individual and social well-being of their fellow-men.

Grotius collected the scattered fragments of the ancient poets, historians and philosophers, which recognized the obligations of states to each other, formulated the principles which they involved, traced them to their origin in the laws of mind, and impressed upon the civilized world the conviction that a state in its corporate capacity is to be regarded as a moral being, responsible to other similar societies, and to God.

Bentham starting on the assumption that the state was made for man, and not man for the state, studied the principles which underlie municipal law, the rationale of punishment, the discipline of prisons, the duty of the state to educate and reform the criminal as well as to punish him. He attacked the injustice and absurdities involved in the English common and chancery law. He ridiculed the statute which fixed the rate of interest, and became in this respect the teacher of Adam Smith. Though encumbered with a faulty and inadequate theory of morals, writing unreadable English, and having personal peculiarities, which made him a butt of ridicule for his contemporaries, he trained and left behind a school of thinkers who have been the active agents in a vast system of law reform, which has renovated English jurisprudence, affected the thought of our age, and made its mark from India to Australia.

Adam Smith lived in an age of great statesmen and reformers, and though hardly thought worthy of mention among them when living, has contributed to the material and moral well-being of man in methods so various and vital that his life and work are more significant to the historian of civilization, than any of the able and brilliant men who in his day were rulers of states or leaders of opinion. Though the treatise of Condillac embodying in a systematic form doctrines similar to those of the "Wealth of Nations," was published in the same year; though many able thinkers preceded him in the discussion of special economic

principles; he first by the breadth of his learning, the comprehensiveness of his views, the freshness of his style and the force of his logic was able to reach the public ear. He may therefore justly be considered the founder of economic philosophy.

All systems of government and forms of law have for their end, to secure to man *liberty of person, liberty of conscience and liberty of exchange*. In the degree that a government recognizes and defends these rights, does it serve its legitimate purpose. Personal slavery has substantially passed away from countries which claim to be civilized. Liberty of conscience is making rapid progress through the separation of church and state. The liberty of exchanging the products of a man's free activity, which is involved in the freedom of his person, remains to be vindicated. The right to fix the price at which he will exchange the products of his labor for those of other men, is an incident of his right to the products themselves. These rights are natural and universal, and the state may not interfere with them, except for the public service and in accordance with laws which bear equally on every citizen.

While some of the motives to labor and production may be those which appeal to self-interest, it does not follow that political economy is not a moral as well as a material science. The motives which move men to action are various, but it is none the less true, that all action should be limited and controlled by moral laws. If it be conceded that most men are induced to labor by self-interest, it is equally true that duty prompts to the same end, and that conscience ought to have supreme authority in deciding what modes of production are permissible to a moral being, and what are not. In the process of ascertaining the laws which should control exchanges, so as to secure to a nation the greatest amount of wealth, economic science always finds that these laws are coincident with the highest morality. It demonstrates that there is a higher law to which self-interest must be made subservient, if it would not defeat its own ends. It matters little whether we apply to any system of financial legislation or mode of production the tests of moral or economic science, for if we make no mistakes in our analysis, the results will harmonize. No mode of production can be economically safe for a nation to adopt, which is in itself morally wrong. Political economy is a demonstration in material facts of the precepts of morality. We oppose all obstructions to the freedom of exchange created by law or custom, not made necessary for revenue, as alike injurious to natural rights and to national wealth. Slavery, the Roman *colonat*, serfdom, the mercantile system, the debasement of currency, either by reducing the standard of coin, or making forced loans and partial confiscations through irredeemable legal tender notes, monopolies, the colonial system, were all at the same time violations of moral and economical laws. Those in our country, who are battling for free trade and a sound currency, can never speak with the authority which belongs to their principles, until they take the ground that they are seeking, not only to increase the national wealth, but also to

vindicate private rights and promote public morality. The "Wealth of Nations" is throughout a practical application of Smith's discussion of the moral constitution of man. Even conceding (which we do not) that a high protective tariff promotes national wealth, it cannot be justified on moral grounds, for if it protects at all, it must tax the many for the benefit of the few, while, at the same time, it does injustice to the nations with whom we trade. However great the services which Adam Smith has rendered to the economical well-being of the world, we believe that he has done still more for its moral education. His work has inculcated a gospel of honesty, peace and reciprocity wherever it has been read. It has everywhere vindicated the harmony of moral and physical laws, and shown that the impulse to accumulate defeats itself, unless held in control by the authority of conscience.

It is often said that the great Economist's work, and the science which he founded, are wanting in constructive ideas—that they are a collection of negations only. This charge may be brought with equal justice against all attempts to develop and illustrate the fundamental laws of matter or of human action. The world's great moralists and reformers have spent their lives in the demolition of organized forms of evil. But they have not destroyed at random. They smote down obstructions which stood in the path of progress. Slavery and feudalism have fallen, that man might have a right to his own body. Church and state have been ruthlessly rent asunder, that conscience might be free. Hoary aristocracies have been crushed, that all men might be equal before the law. With the removal of obstructions that hinder the movement of civilization, humanity sweeps onward by its own inherent force. Our science stands related to economical legislation, as general jurisprudence stands related to the law of contracts and crimes, as physics to engineering, astronomy to navigation, or geology to mining. It will become a most important factor in the constructive politics of the future. As society becomes more complicated, and its differentiations more complete, economic laws will become more and more indispensable as controlling forces in the organic life of society and the state. But hitherto the world has been governed too much. Those only sigh for paternalism and "interference legislation" who have lost faith in man and the ever-active moral and social laws which impel and guide his movements in the path of progress. We would not unduly limit the function of the state; we would seek to keep it within its natural and proper limits. As we deny the right of the state to fix a man's religious creed or mode of worship, so we deny its right to fix the ratio of exchange in the transfer of services or commodities. The attempt on the part of the state to do either is contrary to all considerations of sound policy. In our efforts to promulgate economic laws, the high vantage ground of morality should be taken. So doing, we add to the weight of self-interest the authority of a moral motive. Had our people understood that the legal tender act was a legislative lie, a futile attempt of the government to cheat its home creditors

by a solemn enactment that seventy-five cents are equal to a dollar—that it was simply an attempt to repeal the Ten Commandments—our rulers would never have dared to put such legislation on the statute-book. If our people had understood that the enormous tariff on iron, which existed during the war, was but a skilful contrivance to pick the pockets of every farmer who bought an axe or plough, to increase the expenses of sending every bushel of wheat which passed over a railroad to the sea, to double the price of every cannon ball expended by the army or navy, for the benefit of two per cent., or less, of a special class of manufacturers, a storm of indignation would have rolled over the land in denunciation of the outrage. Our people are yet unconscious of the fetters of commercial restriction which bind them. Some of our statesmen, in their dense ignorance, tell us that the laws of economic science are applicable only to the old world. They affect to view with lofty scorn the experience of the past. As a nation, we have been proud of our efforts to give an elementary education to all our citizens, but we have been exceptionally neglectful of economical science in our schools and colleges. The instruction given has been so hampered by compromises, disguised by half truths and ephemeral party and local issues, that it has excited little interest, and spoken without emphasis or authority. It is useless to attempt economical reform in our country until the young men who are to be the leaders of thought and action are well grounded in the elements of our science. We must train our politicians and editors, lawyers and clergymen, in its principles, before we can effectively reach the people. We should see to it that no well established institution for higher education is without the means of giving economic instruction. Then financial reform will no longer be a voice crying in the wilderness, but we shall be able to organize such an agitation as destroyed slavery in our country, crushed feudalism in France, and abolished monopolies and repealed the corn laws in Great Britain.

Our situation and antecedents are such that we have been able to illustrate certain social and economical truths as they have never been illustrated before. We have shown the advantages to farmers of owning the land which they till. We have shown the practicability of voluntaryism in the support of religion. Our English brethren, while in many important respects, in advance of us in economic theory and practice, are in some things behind us. They have an enormous church establishment, which offers bounties of immense value in wealth and social position to those who will accept a certain phase of religious faith. They give an artificial value to land by the political influence and social consideration attached to its possession. They submit to a system of conveyancing which involves obstructions to land transfers as annoying, and relatively as expensive, as that which our tariff system imposes upon the sale of movable commodities. By the time that Great Britain secures voluntaryism in religion and free trade in land, we shall have made great progress towards the reform of our obsolete and anti-social financial policy.

Meanwhile, the American economists have before them no holiday task. We that are here to-night may best render honor to the memory of Adam Smith by giving range and completeness to the science which he founded, and doing our utmost to shape the economical legislation of the future of our great republic in accordance with its principles. In this great reform every available means of affecting the public mind should be laid under contribution. There should be no carpet knights, nor shallow *dilletanti* in this warfare. We should fight financial heresies as John Hampden fought the ship money, as Stein and Hardenberg fought feudalism in Prussia, as Bright and Cobden fought the corn laws. When the whole system of obstructionism has been swept from our statute-books, when our citizens shall know exactly what taxes they pay, then the vast army of inspectors and detectives, which form a cordon around the vast line of our boundaries by land and sea, may be disbanded. Then we may expect a reorganization of our civil service, and an economy of administration which now exists only in the dreams and hopes of the patriot. Then we shall scorn to take a mean advantage, through restrictive legislation, of our rivals in the race of production and exchange, asking of our neighbors no favor but reciprocity and fair dealing.

At the conclusion of President Anderson's remarks, Mr. Godwin announced the completion of the regular programme of the evening, but said that there were still others from whom the audience would be pleased to hear. He took pleasure in introducing M. Henri Cernuschi, the eminent bi-metallist of France, who had recently arrived in this country. In a brief response M. Cernuschi expressed his congratulations upon the happy coincidence which gave to the world "English science and American independence" in the same year. Mr. F. B. Sanborn, secretary of the American Social Science Association, was then called upon for an estimate of the services rendered to social science by Adam Smith.

REMARKS OF F. B. SANBORN.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—I must beg you and the company which still remain about these tables at this small hour of the night to believe that I came to this festival prepared with a good speech. Imagine then my dismay as I have listened to the better speeches, and have heard one gentleman after another present one point after another which was in my own speech, until now little more is left of that than remains of the rose from which every passer-by has plucked a petal. Therefore, with your permission, I will throw what is left to the winds, and will address myself to some of the points which have been indicated, rather than presented by Mr. Wells, Dr. Anderson and others who have spoken of the great man whose memory we honor to-night.

In the respect which I feel, and which the Association represented by me has always entertained for the character and work of Adam Smith, there mingles something of the filial regard due to an ancestor. Nor is

the relationship between Adam Smith and social science quite so distant as that which Sir Egerton Brydges felt bound to recognize in quoting from Sir Thomas Blount, whom he calls "my distinguished predecessor and relative"—adding in a note, "Sir Thomas was the half-brother of my great-grandmother." Who the great-grandmother of social science may have been, is not yet clearly made out,—for that science was so truly social and communistic in its origin, that it had several fathers. One of these, unquestionably, was Adam Smith. Dr. Franklin, the senior and, in some particulars, the teacher of Smith, was another. In celebrating this anniversary, therefore, the students of social science are literally fulfilling that text of scripture which says; "Come, let us praise famous men, and our fathers which begot us."

In tracing this pedigree for myself and my associates, however, I am compelled to go back a little farther than the precise event which this festival commemorates. The publication of the "Wealth of Nations" a hundred years since, was the starting-point in the modern career of political economy, but social science, of which political economy is but a branch, was even more advanced by Adam Smith's earlier work, "A Theory of the Moral Sentiments," which, I am sorry to find, has had but few readers of late years. In this, his earliest book, published with much favor and applause in 1759, Adam Smith, then a professor at Glasgow, laid down with clearness, and maintained with emphasis the principles of human nature upon which social science must forever rest. He traced to their fountain in the human heart those impulses of sympathy and mutual attraction, from which spring the moral sentiments and social institutions of mankind. Later in life, having settled in his own philosophy the basis of morals and the spring of social activity, Smith developed in accordance with them his principles of jurisprudence, of politics and of commerce. The later work has eclipsed the earlier—the "Wealth of Nations" is read, and the "Theory of Moral Sentiments" is forgotten—but we, to-night, ought not to forget it, nor to ignore the place it held in the author's mind. One of his latest labors in life was to revise it for a new edition in 1790, the year of his death. He then added a few passages, concerning which Dugald Stewart says, "Their moral and serious strain, when connected with the circumstances of his declining health, adds a peculiar charm to his pathetic eloquence, and communicates a new interest to those sublime truths which awakened the first ardors of his genius, and on which the last efforts of his mind reposed." And even Mr. Buckle, who underrates the value of Smith's ethics, as compared with his economics, declares emphatically that the two books must be read together, as being parts of one comprehensive system, each needing to be supplemented by the other.

Coming now to the consideration of that event which we have met to-night to commemorate, I can do little more than to repeat in other forms, what has been so well said already. In one field of knowledge—political economy—Adam Smith is distinctly recognized as the founder

of a special science, which, a hundred years since, had no definite existence. The publication of the "Wealth of Nations," in the spring of 1776, marks an epoch in social science, of which economics are so material a part. The germs of political economy, as of so many other sciences, are found in Aristotle, but quite undeveloped; in Adam Smith, though the phrase seldom appears, the science which it describes seems almost full-grown. To some of his English predecessors, and to the French economists he was much indebted. But I cannot help thinking that the person to whom Smith owed more than to all others was his intimate friend Hume, the philosopher and historian. It is almost forgotten that Hume was a profound and stimulating writer on economical topics, warmly favoring the notion that politics, and what we now call political economy, can be reduced to a science. It seems to me that Smith was by no means so confident of this as Hume was, but that he did more to render it possible, by the laborious collection of facts which he made, and the judicious array of principles marshaled by him for their elucidation. However this may be, the importance and value of Hume's contributions to political and social science, have not, of late years, been appreciated. They influenced men like Franklin, Adams, Hamilton and Jefferson, and one may easily find in the Constitution of the United States many things which were shadowed forth by Hume forty years earlier, in his "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth." Lord Brougham, himself no mean authority in matters where his personal vanity allowed him to render justice to others, has said that "Hume is, beyond doubt, the author of the modern doctrines which now rule the world of science, and are, to a great extent, the guide of practical statesmen." And let it not be forgotten by Americans that both Hume and Smith, whom our own historian, Bancroft, calls "the peer and teacher of statesmen," were favorable to the freedom of the Colonies before 1775.

Hume died just a century ago, and his friend Smith in 1790. In considering what they and their successors have achieved in the broad field which Smith threw open to the world, it is needful to bear in mind the distinction long since pointed out by Say, the first great French disciple of Smith, that there are two separate sciences confounded together in economics, namely, political economy, strictly speaking, which is an experimental science, and statistics, which is only a descriptive science. The latter has made great advances since Adam Smith's day, when it was but in its infancy. In statistics, or, as it was then called, *Political Arithmetic*, the chief English authorities, before Smith's time, had been Sir William Petty, Gregory King, Dr. Davenant and Arthur Young, whose united contributions, during one hundred years, to the science of statistics were scarcely so important as those made in a single year by the census takers of an imperial nation like the United States, Great Britain, Germany or France. Yet some of these early statistical writers were among the greatest men of their day. Of Sir William Petty, who became the founder of a noble family in England, John Evelyn, knowing him well,

said: "If I were a Prince, I should make him my second Counsellor at least. There is nothing difficult to him. In a word, there is nothing impenetrable to him." Yet so difficult and impenetrable was then the simple work of numbering the people of a kingdom, that not even this wise man attempted it in little England.

No wonder that political economy, in the days of Franklin and Smith, was so confused in its data and so variant in its conclusions, seeing that statistics, the very foundation of economics, were then so little cultivated. Even Adam Smith neglected them. Of late, perhaps, we have regarded statistics too highly, but it is not possible to collect them too carefully, nor to compare them with each other too minutely. The labor thus bestowed on tables of figures may seem to be mere drudgery, and quite thrown away,—but without it the most glittering generalities of political economy soon lose their lustre and sink into the great dust-heap of popular fallacies. There can be no doubt, I think, that such has been the fate of some of Smith's own speculations. He was not infallible, he fell into errors, he misunderstood principles sometimes, and he failed to foresee exactly how some principles would comport themselves in action. Now some of his mistakes have been bombarded by arguments, and have yielded to the cannonade of continued discussion; but there are others which have been worn away by the constant friction of statistics, unwearily pelting against theoretical errors, just as the sand-storm of the desert slowly eats into the face of the cliff, and finally gnaws the stone away.

I observe that some of the moderns vaunt themselves on their superiority to these errors of Adam Smith. He did not understand Rent, they say he gave unmerited praise to the Navigation Acts of England, he was wrong here, he was wrong there. Well, what if he was? Right in the main he could afford to err in the details. Do not let us judge him by the wrong standard; he was the father of us all, and must be treated with filial respect. "Mamma," said the little boy to his mother, as they sat by the fire together, "what did you want to marry father for? Why didn't you wait till I grew up and marry me?" If political economy is now full grown, it was not always so—and it should thank Adam Smith for such growth as it has had.

In one respect he was more clear-sighted than many of his followers. As Dr. Anderson has intimated, he believed firmly in the moral basis of political economy, and therefore it did not become, in his hands, the "dismal science" of which his countryman, Thomas Carlyle, has complained. Smith saw that what is called "enlightened selfishness" was not a motive broad enough, nor deep enough to inspire the whole activity of man,—that ethical considerations must enter into all commercial transactions, and that under no circumstances could a nation or an individual barter the right for the expedient. He saw also, and he did not forget to say, that benevolence, not selfishness, is the law of the universe—that political economy teaches this, no less than Christianity, and that the

best good of mankind must be the aim of all who take part in the government of nations, or in the instruction of those who govern.

REMARKS OF ALFRED B. MASON.

MR. ALFRED B. MASON, of Chicago, at the request of the chairman, then spoke in substance, as follows, concerning the work now doing in behalf of free trade in the Great West: The best celebration of Adam Smith's work is work done here for the same end. The triumph of free trade in this country, the abolition of the custom-house, depends upon the organization of the forces of free trade. An effort for that organization has been begun. With the aid of names furnished by the International Free Trade Alliance of this city, and with the hearty co-operation of the Boston Free Trade Club, a co-operation I am glad to publicly acknowledge, a knot of young men in Chicago began work last September, relying on their own scanty leisure time and their own scanty purses. Organization has been pushed from the three centres of Boston, New York and Chicago, until there are to-day men at work for the formation of free-trade leagues in more than thirty states of this union. A national convention will be held in Chicago next March,* at which we hope to see every state represented. At that convention a permanent national committee will be formed and plans adopted for national work in the way of lecture courses, by distinguished men, the distribution of documents and the perfection of an effective organization. We ask you to prepare for this convention and to attend it. It is pleasant to meet here, to view free-trade through a vinous mist, through the curling smoke of our cigars, but the one road to it, the one chance of it, lies in the one word—work.

REMARKS OF M. R. LEVERSON.

Dr. M. R. LEVERSON, of Colorado, desired to call attention to the importance and practicability of introducing the study of economic science into the common schools.

Although hardly necessary to such an audience to dilate upon the importance of the subject, he would yet say a few words upon this also.

What could be more important for those who are to live by labor than to know the natural laws by which the wages of that labor would be regulated, to learn how to earn high wages and constant employment, and avoid low wages and loss of employment; for those who are to engage in trade, how commercial crises and panics are to be avoided, and how they at least may save themselves from being drawn into the vortex when they did occur?

The deplorable strikes and combinations which produce such lamentable results, even in those cases when the absence of violence prevents the

* NOTE—The time of holding this convention now depends upon the solution of the present political problem.—[Ed.]

public gaze from being attracted to them, would be impossible if their unavoidable consequences in lowering wages were made clear to the children attending our common schools.

A remarkable instance of the need of such instruction, startling even to the speaker, was lately presented to them.

Men who had earned the confidence of capitalists, to the extent of being entrusted with the administration of their capital, measured by scores of millions of dollars, had been guilty of the folly and wickedness of entering into the coal combination which lately collapsed, resulting in great loss to those whose property and interests had been confided to their care, besides entailing misery untold upon millions. As loss, and not profit, was the unavoidable consequence of such combination, which a school child of fourteen could have foretold if rightly trained, never would such combination have been entered into had the administrators of that capital received in youth instruction in the conditions of human well being so easily imparted to the young.

But what sort of moral training is now being given in our schools? The Catholic clergy are right in their objections, for no teaching in morals, worthy of the name, is now being given. The speaker then mentioned an instance in which, on one occasion, when he was visiting a school in this city, one of the most esteemed teachers, and the principal of the school, was able only to appeal to fear of state's prison as a reason for abstaining from arson!

He then detailed his own experience as a volunteer and unpaid teacher among the post graduate teachers of New York in the Saturday Normal School, during the winter of 1867-8, and the total want of interest evinced by the then School Commissioners and Trustees, which he contrasted with the enthusiasm evinced by the teachers, and quoted Mr. Kiddle and Mr. Harrison as testifying to the effects of his labors upon the teachers who attended his class.

He then said:

Is it not desirable that when our children leave school, at twelve, thirteen, or fourteen years of age, they should have some reason in their minds, and assimilated therewith, to tell them why they should be honest and truthful, and to guard them from falsehood and dishonesty of all kinds; why they should be industrious, sober, punctual, and skillful, and you will only find in social science the means of giving this moral teaching to the young.

The speaker then referred to the prevailing low tone of morals, both in politics and society, to the ignorance displayed by legislators, both in Congress and State Legislatures; nor, said he, can other be expected, for they are the products of our common schools. But, said the speaker, it will be asked—is the teaching of this science to the young really practicable? Not only is it practicable, but it has actually been done for more than 25 years, and he gave the experience of certain schools whose pupils, were even further advanced in the three R's by the very rea-

son of this instruction being given them ; and he concluded by offering, during his residence in the city, which would be of some weeks' further duration, to give lessons gratuitously, either to teachers, "on the object and method of imparting to young children a knowledge of the conditions of human well being, commonly called political economy," or to classes of children of 8 to 10, or of 12 to 15 years of age, in the presence of any committee of citizens, or of school authorities, who would pledge themselves that, at the termination of his lessons, they would, if convinced, labor for the introduction of this science into our schools, to which labor, and that of law reform, the past twenty-five years and upwards of his life had been devoted.

As an example—it is impossible in our brief space to give them all—of the character and spirit of the responses to the invitations of the committee, many of them eloquent in behalf of the great principle which found so early an advocate in Adam Smith, the following letters are here appended :

BRITISH LEGATION,
Washington, Dec. 4, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR: I am very sorry that I am obliged to decline your kind invitation to dine with you on the 12th inst., to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the publication of the "Wealth of Nations." I have just now so much business which requires my close attention, that I fear it will be impossible for me to absent myself from Washington for some months to come. Believe me,

Very truly yours,

EDWD. THORNTON.

BELGIAN LEGATION,
Washington, Dec. 5th, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR: I much regret I shall not be able to be in New York on the 12th to join with the friends of commercial freedom in commemorating the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." Belgium has, indeed, derived most valuable benefits from commercial freedom, and I trust that such public manifestations as you contemplate may lead to a more general diffusion and adoption of the principles admirably expounded by Adam Smith.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

MAURICE DELFORSE.

COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY,
Princeton, N. J., Dec. 1st, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR: Of all men in America, I should be the one most disposed to participate in the hundredth anniversary of the publication of Adam Smith's great work. I am not only a countryman of his, but

I have known so many people who knew him, that I feel as if I would know him if I met him. But I have a special college engagement on Wednesday morning (an examination) which will make it impossible for me to be from home on Tuesday evening. I appreciate the honor which has been conferred upon me.

Yours ever,

JAMES McCOSH.

BELOIT COLLEGE.

Beloit, Wis., Dec. 4th, 1876.

DEAR SIR: I am glad to learn by your circular note of Nov. 16th that honor due is to be shown to the memory of Adam Smith, the father of modern political economy. I regret that I cannot, agreeably to your invitation, be present at the public dinner proposed for the 12th inst. I shall be in accord with those there assembled, remember the occasion, and rejoice that the principles of commercial freedom taught in the "Wealth of Nations" have, by slow but sure progress through the century past, come to be so generally recognized by the best minds as true and sound. The day seems not far distant when they will be universally accepted and practically applied in full ascendancy, to govern the policy of states and the intercourse of nations. God speed every effort to hasten that good time.

Very respectfully and truly yours,

A. L. CHAPIN.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., Dec. 5th, 1876.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your kind invitation to the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the publication of the "Wealth of Nations," allow me to express my heartfelt sympathy in the interest manifested in perpetuating the individuality of a work, already the text-book of nations, embodying the principles that are the foundation of the only system of economy. With every disposition to participate, it is with sincere concern that I must plead my inability to be present and take part in the, to me peculiarly interesting ceremonies.

With reiterated regrets, I am, very truly yours,

W. R. MORRISON.

DWIGHT, ILL., Dec. 5, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR: I regret that it is not in my power to accept the invitation to be present at the hundredth anniversary dinner in commemoration of the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." It gives me pleasure, however, to state that in Illinois we are making renewed efforts, by means of lectures, the distribution of documents, and the per-

fection of an effective organization, to secure for these great principles of "Commercial Freedom" a national recognition.

Truly yours,

S. T. K. PRIME,
Vice-President I. F. T. League.

BATES COLLEGE,
Lewiston, Me., Dec. 4, '76.

DEAR SIR: I acknowledge with sincerest pleasure the distinguished favor of your invitation to participate in the public dinner and celebration of the 12th inst. I should esteem it a great honor and privilege to become acquainted with the men who will assemble there, and to be associated with them in such an appropriate commemoration, as I do to share in the smallest capacity in their great work of making our nation most truly prosperous. I regret that my engagements will not permit me to be present, but I assure you and the goodly company of your fellow-workers that I sympathize most heartily in acknowledging, since we cannot repay, the debt we owe to Adam Smith, and in carrying out, so far as our national circumstances make it wise to do so, the sound principles of political science which he laid down.

Believe me, with deepest regard and thanks,

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD C. STANLEY.

DETROIT, MICH., Dec. 7, 1876.

DEAR SIR: Your esteemed favor of Nov. 16th, inviting me to participate in a public dinner to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," has been received. It would, indeed, give me great pleasure to be present on such an occasion, but other important engagements will prevent me from accepting your kind invitation. It is now some nineteen years since I became interested in the question of free trade. The "Wealth of Nations" was the first book upon the subject that I read. By reading that great work my convictions of the justice and expediency of free trade became so thoroughly settled that the plausible yet sophistical pleas of protection have never raised a doubt in my mind. The cause of free trade is founded upon the eternal principles of justice, and must prevail. All that we have to do is to enlighten the people, and they will believe in it as firmly as they do the multiplication-table.

Respectfully yours,

THOMAS D. HAWLEY.

BOSTON, Dec. 6, 1876.

DEAR SIR: Accept my thanks for your kind invitation to be present at the Adam Smith festival on the 12th inst. I have delayed my answer

in hopes that I should be able to join you, but I regret to say that I now see no probability that I shall be.

A hundred years have elapsed since Adam Smith announced to the world "that commerce was based upon the idea of a mutual and equal advantage to both parties engaged in it; and that obstruction under the name of protection was a burden upon both." It may discourage some people to think that still a large part of our "great, enlightened, and progressive people" believe and act upon the contrary theory—but it does not discourage me. Our nation has been saved from a large part of the evils of protection by the wise provision of our Constitution, which establishes over twenty-two degrees of latitude and fifty-six degrees of longitude, occupied by forty-five millions of people, the most absolute free trade that exists in the world. Had we remained under the Confederation, each State making its own tariff laws, we might, by applying the same *wisdom* that establishes an obstructive duty between New York and Canada, have been able to multiply the benefits of protection by establishing a line of custom-houses along each of our State boundaries, in which case we should long ago have been compelled, by sheer necessity, to study and understand the question. Having, however, been secured the blessings of absolute free trade for nine-tenths of all our commercial transactions, we have overlooked or passed by, as a necessary incident of existence, the grossest obstruction of the last tenth. Our manufacturers have been reaping the profits of protection for about fifteen years. Their enormous apparent gains have been invested, partly in extravagant living, partly in wasteful production. And their accumulations have taken the shape of mills and furnaces erected at two or three times their normal cost, and in many instances at such places and under such conditions that profitable employment is impossible except at war prices, and that existence itself cannot be maintained in hard times.

The story is not a new one, but it has, apparently, at this time reached a new chapter. In some lines of manufactures the means of production in this country now exceed the average yearly demand, and the cry is for export. Let us hope that the unfortunates who are reaping the result of excessive protection may now recognize the great law of trade—"that export implies import," and may favor such a change in our tariff laws as will open our doors outward by opening them voluntarily inward.

At least let us hope that treaties of reciprocity may spread our beneficent system of free trade over the whole continent.

Let us start on the second century of our history in our race with the old world, relieved from the oppression of hostile tariffs and the excessive burdens of war preparations, and move through our new century with "Free Trade and Peace over the whole Continent" as our motto and purpose.

Very sincerely, your servant,

ESTES HOWE.

INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE.

THIS organization has been formed for the purpose of promoting industrial and commercial freedom—absolute freedom in exchanging the productions of industry with all the world.

WE HOLD, That freedom in Trade and Commerce—freedom in exchanging the productions of our agricultural and manufacturing industries with those of other countries—is as necessary to the prosperity of the nation, as freedom in producing is to the individual. That it is a principle essential to our American liberty which cannot be violated without injury and danger to our institutions, and should never be infringed upon by the government except when absolutely and unavoidably necessary.

WE HOLD, That comfort, wealth, civilization, and the welfare of mankind are directly promoted and increased by exchanging the products of labor between individuals, and states, and nations. That farmers, or mechanics, or any other producers do not promote their own welfare by keeping more than they need of anything which they have produced, but by exchanging the surplus in purchasing whatever they desire of things produced by others, wherever they can do so most advantageously to themselves. That as a people, we are not free, in so far as the liberty to make such exchanges—such sales and purchases—is restricted by the arbitrary power of government.

WE HOLD, That the Custom House system of obtaining national revenue, violates the principles of American liberty, fosters international prejudices, is hurtful to republicanism, and hinders the growth of peace and good-will among men. That it interferes with and injures lawful business, which is constantly the subject of sudden and arbitrary changes in the tariff. That it is a formidable obstacle in the way of our national prosperity, and the pursuit of useful and honorable enterprise. That it has for many years been one of the most fruitful causes of sectional irritation and animosity. That it is a wasteful and unjust method of obtaining revenue, in causing the people to pay, in cost of living, an enormously greater amount than ever reaches the treasury. That it is a constant and strong incentive to bribery, corruption and smuggling, which are ruinous to honest merchants. That it affords excuse for employing a very large number of officials, who control political and party machinery, and whose influence prevents the first step in Civil Service Reform.

The efforts of the ALLIANCE will be directed towards obtaining ABSOLUTE FREEDOM IN TRADE AND COMMERCE by abandoning the Custom House revenue system, as soon as it can be done without injury to the best interests of the people; providing for the necessary expenses of government by a just, undisguised, and economical method of TAXATION; and ensuring CIVIL SERVICE REFORM by reducing the multitude of offices now existing, but which will then be no longer necessary.

The work of the Alliance will be prosecuted by appealing to the intelligent common sense of the people through the Press, and by public meetings.

THE NEW CENTURY.

JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE,

FOR PROMOTING

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL FREEDOM

AND

POLITICO-ECONOMIC REFORM.

There is nothing to be deprecated and denounced more than the ignorance, caprice and selfishness manifested in the changes or threatened changes in international trade, which are brought up in Congress at every session, and are so agitated as to derange the most prudent calculations of business men, inevitably injuring the producing interests of the whole country.

Recognizing the necessity for diffusing information and inculcating simple economic truths, in order that intelligent and honest legislation may be required from those who are chosen to represent the interests of the people, the INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE ALLIANCE, in addition to its other efforts to secure such results, is now publishing, monthly, or less frequently, as occasion serves, under the title of "THE NEW CENTURY," an octavo periodical of sixteen or more pages, devoted to the popularization of economic truths. Prof. Sumner's lectures on the History of Protection in the United States have already been printed in this journal, and equally important papers may be expected.

The Journal of the ALLIANCE is furnished at the nominal price of One Dollar for twelve issues, or their equivalent, in order that it may be within reach of all who wish to be informed regarding the progress of the work in which we are engaged. As the price is not sufficient to cover the cost of publishing and mailing, it is very desirable that those who recognize its importance, and are able to assist, will contribute a larger sum to sustain the effort.

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"Our Revenue System and the Civil Service," 12mo, pp. 41, paper.....	25c.
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Report of the Adam Smith Centennial Dinner, New York, 1876, with addresses of Parke Godwin, W. C. Bryant, David A. Wells, W. G. Sumner, President Anderson, Edward Atkinson and others. 8vo, pp. 48, paper.....	25c.

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